LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES OF JAMES G. BLAINE

634

College Library,

North Manchester, Ind.

Vol. No.

Eli Mangas.

LIBRARY
82
51
MANCHESTER COLLEGE.

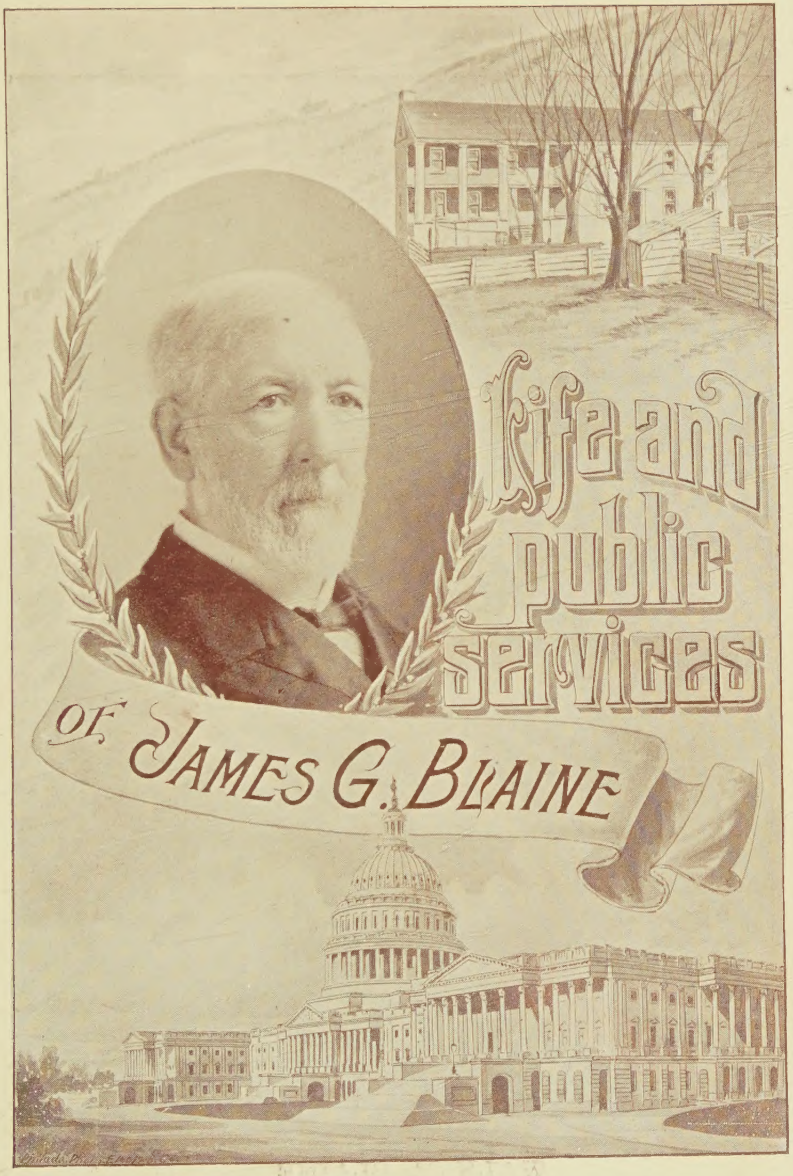
230

Eli Mangas

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/lifepublicservic0000vari

James G. Blaine


Life and public services
of James G. Blaine

WALKER BLAINE

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

—OF—

Hon. JAMES G. BLAINE

"THE PLUMED KNIGHT"

—CONTAINING—

A FULL ACCOUNT OF HIS EARLY LIFE; HIS EDUCATION AND CAREER AS A TEACHER; HIS BRILLIANT SERVICES IN CONGRESS AND AS SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE; HIS ABLE AND PATRIOTIC RECORD IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

—INCLUDING—

His Nomination for the Presidency; his Eminent Services as Secretary of State; his Sickness and Death.

The Whole forming a Complete and Graphic Account of

AMERICA'S MOST DISTINGUISHED STATESMAN.

BY HENRY DAVENPORT NORTHROP, D.D.

Author of "Story of the New World," Etc.

EMBELLISHED WITH SUPERB PHOTOTYPE ENGRAVINGS.

N. G. HAMILTON & CO.,

504 & 506, THE ARCADE,

CLEVELAND, OHIO.

Copyright, 1893

923.273
B574r
copy 4

PREFACE.

For many years the name of James Gillespie Blaine has had a remarkable magnetism, and has awakened the greatest enthusiasm. No American statesman ever filled the hearts of the people more completely than he did.

The martyrdom of Lincoln and Garfield won for them a peculiar veneration, but Mr. Blaine, while living, gained the highest place in public esteem. He was admired as the most brilliant statesman of his day. He was loved for his warm and generous nature; his patriotism was so broad and bold that it won the applause of his political opponents. He was followed with the devotion and enthusiasm of the army that bore the eagle of France when Napoleon marched to his world-renowned victories, and even in defeat he was worshiped as was the man of destiny after Moscow and Elba.

The complete and graphic story of his marvelous career is written in this volume. The life and public services of James G. Blaine are a part of our country's most thrilling history, and this superb work is worthy of the "Plumed Knight's" dazzling achievements. It contains the fascinating story of the deeds of the most renowned leader, orator and statesman of our time.

The work shows how an American lad, born and

669

raised in a country town, secured a good education and acquired habits of industry and self-reliance, which were the ground-work of the great name he was to make in after life.

How, by diligence, tact and faithfulness to duty, he gained distinction as a teacher, and, by masterly ability and untiring industry, achieved the highest success as an editor and leader of public opinion.

How he was elected to the Legislature of his adopted State, took high rank among his colleagues, was chosen to be Speaker of the House, and showed all the commanding abilities of oratory and statesmanship which afterward made him the most majestic figure in Congress.

How he was elected a Member of Congress, continued fourteen years in this position, and during six years of the period was Speaker of the House, taking highest rank among the distinguished statesmen who have occupied the Speaker's chair.

How he received the Portfolio of Secretary of State in President Garfield's Cabinet, and upon the death of the President delivered a magnificent eulogy upon him before both houses of Congress.

How he was honored with the nomination for the Presidency, became Secretary of State in President Harrison's Cabinet, vigorously defended American rights in the fisheries disputes with England, conducted the Pan-American Conference, and secured the grand results of Reciprocity and commercial relations with the South American nations.

C. 14

CONTENTS.

PAGE

CHAPTER I.

Early Life of the Great American Statesman . . . 17

CHAPTER II.

Young Blaine as a Student and Teacher 34

CHAPTER III.

Editor and Political Leader 54

CHAPTER IV.

Blaine a Member of the State Legislature . . . 69

CHAPTER V.

First Term in Congress 88

CHAPTER VI.

Second Term in Congress 101

CHAPTER VII.

Third Term in Congress 120

CHAPTER VIII.

Speaker of the House of Representatives 132

CHAPTER IX.

The Famous Mulligan Letters 154

CHAPTER X.

"The Plumed Knight" and the Presidency . . . 185

CHAPTER XI.

Blaine in the United States Senate 200

CHAPTER XII.

Blaine as Secretary of State 240

669

PAGE

CHAPTER XIII.

Eulogy of James A. Garfield 279

CHAPTER XIV.

National Convention of 1884 at Chicago 316

CHAPTER XV.

Enthusiasm for the "Plumed Knight" 332

CHAPTER XVI.

Blaine Nominated 347

CHAPTER XVII.

Accepts the Nomination 379

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Great Campaign of 1884 409

CHAPTER XIX.

Again Secretary of State 424

CHAPTER XX.

Striking Characteristics of the Man 451

CHAPTER XXI.

James G. Blaine 469

CHAPTER XXII.

Blaine as a Man Among Men 477

CHAPTER XXIII.

Home Life and Personal Traits 493

CHAPTER XXIV.

Reminiscences of the "Plumed Knight" 521

CHAPTER XXV.

In the Valley of Death 537

CHAPTER XXVI.

The Closing Scenes 549

CHAPTER XXVII.

Last Honors to the Dead Statesman 565

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Friendly Tributes to the Great Leader 583

JOSEPH R. HAWLEY

JOHN SHERMAN.

LIFE AND PUBLIC SERVICES

OF

Hon. James G. Blaine.

CHAPTER I.

Early Life of the Great American Statesman.

High on the roll of America's illustrious sons stands the name of James Gillespie Blaine. As a statesman he was wise and far-seeing. As an orator he was magnetic and persuasive. As a citizen he was public-spirited, faithful to his convictions and principles, and was respected and honored by his countrymen. "Death loves a shining mark," and has pierced with his unerring dart the most distinguished statesman of his time.

The annals of our country, rich in the immortal names of patriots and heroes, contain no brighter page than that which relates the history of the great chief who has fallen. He was born to be a ruler among men. His public career was long and brilliant; his eminent services to his country have placed him in the front rank of those whom the nation delights to honor; his eulogy is written in the hearts of the American people, and his name is wreathed with perennial fame.

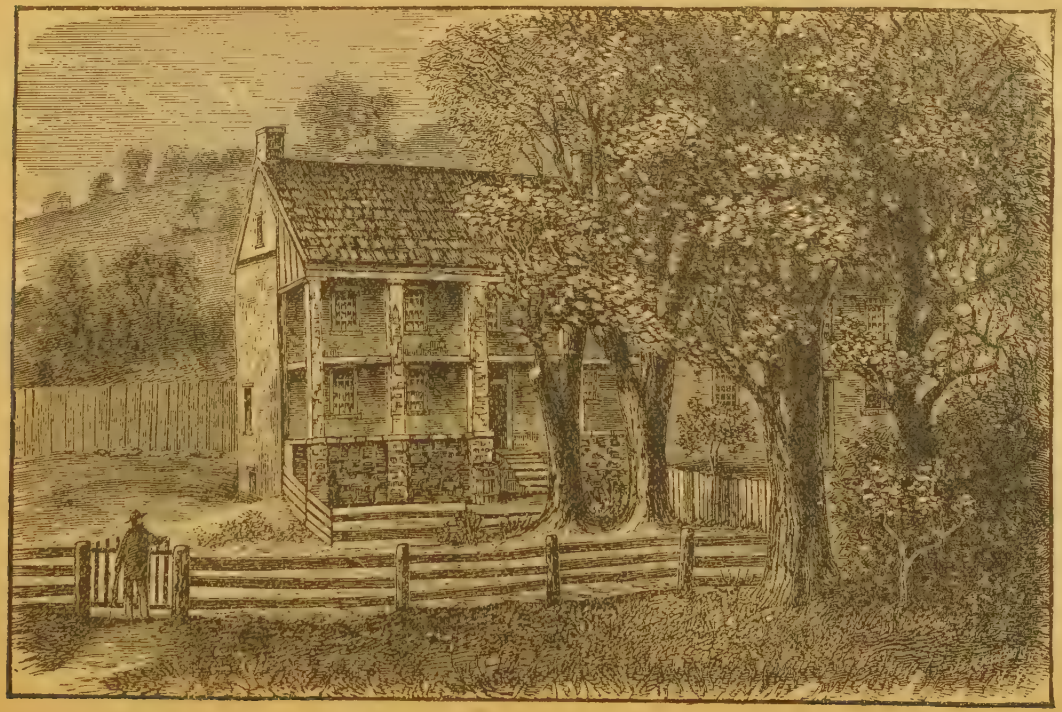
Sympathetic in his nature, broad in his views, commanding in his personal power, he was greater than any political party, and possessed the grandeur of a true and lofty manhood. History is already embalming his illustrious deeds, and millions of his countrymen point with pride to his magnificent career. The story of his life should quicken the pulses of patriotism and inspire the young men of the nation with noble purposes and resolves.

BLAINE'S ANCESTRY.

James Gillespie Blaine was born January 31, 1830, in Union township, Washington county, Pennsylvania. He came from noted Scotch-Irish stock, his ancestors having been among the pioneers who a century and a half ago ascended the great limestone valley in which Carlisle is situated, and founded that thriving town.

Mr. Blaine's great-grandfather, Colonel Ephraim Blaine, lived here for many years. This officer was originally a colonel of the Pennsylvania line, but during the last four years of the Revolutionary war he was Commissary-General of the Northern Department, and during the terrible winter at Valley Forge did his best to keep the wolf of famine and destitution from the American camp.

"In this great field of patriotic duty," writes one of his biographers, "Colonel Blaine won a splendid reputation. Through himself and immediate friends he was able, at different times, when the Continental treasury was empty, to advance large amounts of money toward



HON. JAMES G. BLAINE'S BIRTHPLACE.

purchasing supplies for the army; and during the terrible winter at Valley Forge, Washington attributed the preservation of his troops from absolute starvation to the heroic and self-sacrificing efforts of Colonel Blaine. The high esteem with which Colonel Blaine was held by Washington and his great patriotic leaders in the Revolution was attested by numerous letters from them, official and unofficial, still in the possession of Colonel Blaine's descendants in this State.

A LOCAL TRADITION.

"It is yet one of the pleasing local traditions of Carlisle that in 1793, when the Whisky Insurrection arose in the western counties, President Washington, accompanied by his Secretaries of the Treasury and War Departments, Hamilton and Knox, on their way to the scene of the trouble, halted for many days at Middlesex as the guests of Colonel Blaine, and while there heard of the dispersion of the insurgents and returned to Philadelphia. Their visit was the occasion of the most lavish hospitality and old-fashioned merry-making, and was long remembered with pleasure by the generation of Carlisle residents who have passed away."

Colonel Ephraim Blaine's son, James Blaine, emigrated from Carlisle, Pennsylvania, into the then wilderness of Southwestern Pennsylvania, and established a country store at the mouth of Ten Mile Run, in Greene county. He remained there but a short time, and then moved to Brownsville with his wagon-load of

EMMONS BLAINE

JAMES G. BLAINE, JR.

goods, and opened a store which he kept for the rest of his life.

James Blaine's son, "Squire Blaine," as he was known in the community, was married to Miss Gillespie, a devout member of the Roman Catholic Church, but their seven children—five boys and two girls—adhered to the traditional faith of the Blaines. The eldest of these five sons, James Gillespie Blaine, is the subject of this volume.

RELIGIOUS FAITH OF THE BLAINE FAMILY.

Concerning the religious faith of his family and his own attitude in religious matters, Mr. Blaine wrote in later life—March 10th, 1876—as follows:

My ancestors on my father's side were, as you know, always identified with the Presbyterian church, and they were prominent and honored in the old colony of Pennsylvania. But I will never consent to make any public declaration upon the subject, and for two reasons: first, because I abhor the introduction of anything that looks like a religious test or qualification for office in a republic where perfect freedom of conscience is the birthright of every citizen; and, second, because my mother was a devoted Catholic. I would not for a thousand Presidencies speak a disrespectful word of my mother's religion, and no pressure will draw me into any avowal of hostility or unfriendliness to Catholics, though I have never received, and do not expect, any political support from them.

The Kennebec *Journal* (Augusta, Maine), about this time, said on the same subject that "Mr. Blaine

has been for nearly twenty years a consistent member of the Orthodox Congregational Church in this, the city of his home. Orthodox Congregationalism in Maine is precisely the same creed as Presbyterianism in Pennsylvania."

BLAINE'S BOYHOOD.

Speaking of Blaine's boyhood a well-known journalist thus wrote of a visit to his early home in West Brownsville, Pennsylvania:

I stood beside two old graves to-day in this village, that are in the shadow of the little church that so quickly recalled to me Longfellow's beautiful lines. The marble that marked them was much newer than the mounds and the surroundings impressed me with the thought that a dutiful and reverent son had years after, when means and opportunity came that were wanting when death called father and mother away, placed a fitting monument to mark the spot where they slept. It is a plain, unpretentious stone that marks these graves, and it was the names only that attracted my attention. They were those of Ephraim L. Blaine and Maria Gillespie Blaine.

"Who were these two people in life?" I asked of an old gentleman, who had wandered along with me to this quiet city where the dead sleep.

"Why, they were the father and mother of James G. Blaine. I knew them both well. Eph Blaine and I went to school together. He was one of the founders of this town, and was squire here for many a year. He was elected prothonotary of the county in 1842,

and moved to Washington, the county-seat. He married Maria, a daughter of old Neal Gillespie, the smartest man in this whole section, and from his people James Gillespie Blaine derives his middle name.

A REMARKABLE FAMILY.

"The Gillespies were among the most prominent families in the State. The seal of nature's nobility was stamped upon them, one and all. The men were brave and stalwart; as strong in character, too, as they were stout of limb. The women were very handsome, and carried themselves as proudly as though the blood of a hundred earls were coursing through their veins. The beauty of old Mrs. Blaine, James' mother, passed into a proverb. Even in her decrepit age she preserved much of her early attractiveness, and her eye was like a hawk's, as clear and flashing then as in the days of her budding womanhood. This was a peculiarity of her family, and she transmitted it to all her children.

"The Gillespies were ardent, intense Catholics, and made their religion the leading feature of their lives. Neal Gillespie owned a good deal of land about here, and Eph Blaine built the brick house you see yonder on a portion of it, after his marriage with Miss Gillespie. There their first child, James, was born in 1830.

STORY OF THE BOY.

"I remember him very well when he was a lad and used to paddle about on the river and make mud pies along its banks. He was a bright lad.

"I remember one little story about him, which I often heard in those days, and which is interesting as showing how truly, in his case, the child was father to the man. When he was but a little toddler, so to speak, some laborers were engaged digging a well on his father's premises. The future statesman was caught one morning peering down into the excavation, and one of the men, with the idea of frightening him and thus preventing him from again putting himself in danger, thrust his shovel toward him, and made all sorts of ugly faces.

"Jim ran away, but only to nurse his anger and await an opportunity for revenge. Venturing to the well a day or two after he had been driven away, he found the men working away at the bottom. Improving the opportunity, he seized a clod of earth and hurled it with all his little might full at the head of his unsuspecting enemy, with the consolatory remark, 'There, take that.' Clod followed clod in fast succession, with accompanying expletives, until the men were fairly beside themselves with rage and with the fear that the desperate child might take it into his head to use some of the stones lying about him as messengers of wrath more effective than mere lumps of earth.

"Their shouts, however, brought his mother to the scene, and the little avenger was unceremoniously hustled off to the house. That was the old blood asserting itself. A Gillespie or a Blaine never turned his back upon friend or foe.

A BOAT WITH A FAMOUS NAME.

"That's the new packet 'James G. Blaine' that runs from here to Pittsburg. The two people who sleep in this graveyard little thought when they died that they'd have a son big enough to have a packet named for him. They died when Jim was young, and they didn't leave anything for him to start with either.

"Eph Blaine was a rich man once. His grandfather left him some fifty thousand dollars, but he spent it having a good time. He was not a money-saver, but believed in enjoying the world as he lived. He used to drive fine horses, and drove 'em tandem, too. Old Neal Gillespie used to call him 'My-gig-and-tandem son-in-law.' The Gillespies wasn't so slow, either, but Eph Blaine led 'em all in this country. It's no wonder Jim Blaine is smart. He comes of good stock on both sides. All the Gillespies were smart. Neal Gillespie was the biggest-brained man in all this country."

"Do the Blaines or any of the relatives own the old homestead?"

"No, indeed. It's long since passed into strange hands. There was little of either the Blaine or the Gillespie estate left when the settlement day came. The children all had to begin new. None of either family live about here now."

PROUD OF THE STATESMAN.

There is much that is strange in the story that the old man told me, and much more that is interesting. We finished the talk beside the restless waters of the

Monongahela, near which Mr. Blaine was born, and his family lived for years. The little brick house doesn't stand more than forty rods from the river, and the old path which leads from the doorway that Blaine helped to make in childhood is still there. The best boat on the river now bears his name, and the plain people love to talk of his having been born in their midst.

A WILD COUNTRY.

It is a queer section of country in which to have found the homes of two such families as the Blaines and the Gillespies. Both strong houses—both fond of the best things of this life. Both educated and brainy. The Gillespie family was a rich and powerful family in the region. The strength of mind and character for which all the family were noted is still a proverb in the region. The Monongahela river at this point separates the two counties of Fayette and Washington. Brownsville is on the Fayette side and West Brownsville on the Washington side. They are both quaint old towns, and wear the mark of many years. I don't suppose there are 5000 people in both, and the houses straggle along the banks of the river on the lowlands, which are just high enough to keep them out of the reach of the overflow.

This country was new—I might say wild—when the Blaines and Gillespies came here. The rich treasures of the Youghiogheny region were floated down the Ohio river in rude keel boats, and the untold wealth in the rugged mountains was then un-

known. Albert Gallatin used to live in this country then, and his residence was but a few miles up the river from this point. But mighty changes have taken place since those days, when he left his impress upon the finances and credit of this country so that it can never be effaced.

There seems to have been good feeling from the first between the Blaine and Gillespie families, and there seems to have been a special care to intermingle the family names as each son was born. The old man whom I encountered in the first part of this story told me that nearly every son in the Blaine family, as in the Gillespies, wore the family name or some part of his autograph.

The Gillespie family seemed to run more to girls than boys, and it seemed to be their good fortune to link their fortunes with strong men. The daughter who was next in age to Maria, who married Ephraim A. Blaine, was wedded to the famous Tom Ewing, of Ohio, when he was a poor lawyer in Lancaster, Pa. That's how he became an uncle of James G. Blaine, and the names of Blaine and Ewing became joined. It made a strong combination.

A KENTUCKY SCHOOL TEACHER.

There is a tradition here that when old Tom Ewing was Secretary of the Interior, Blaine applied to him for a clerkship and the old man sent him to Kentucky to earn an honest living teaching school. This association of the name of Ewing with that of Blaine has given rise to the story that the Ewing family of

Ohio helped James G. Blaine to an education. I might as well destroy this fiction by telling the facts.

A short drive brought me to Washington, the county-seat of this county, and one of the first men I met was Major John H. Ewing, an old veteran past fourscore years.

"I married the sister of Ephraim L. Blaine," he said. "He and I went to school together over in yonder college, and I knew him nearly all his life. He was a leader in the mischief of the school, and fond of all the good things of this life. He was the handsomest man I ever saw, and he had a wife that was a match for him. She was one of the noblest women I ever knew. She inherited all the sterling traits of character and strength of mind for which the Gillespies were noted.

"So, you see, Blaine sprang from the best of stock on both sides. His father was Justice of the Peace over in West Brownsville for a number of years, and afterwards Prothonotary of the County. He was elected in 1842, and came here to live. James G. was only about twelve years old then, and almost every middle-aged man you meet on the streets here remembers all about him."

INTERESTING LETTER.

A letter, written upon the occasion of the Washington County Centennial, in September, 1881, reveals Mr. Blaine's deep attachment for the place of his birth, and his loyal interest and pride in its history. We give the letter entire.

D. W VOORHEES

WILLIAM P. FRYE

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 5, 1881.

JOHN D. MCKENNAN:

Dear Sir,—I had anticipated great pleasure in being present at the centennial celebration of the erection of Washington County, but the national sorrow which shadows every household detains me here.

I shall perhaps never again have the opportunity of seeing so many of the friends of my youth, and so many of my blood and kindred, and you may well conceive my disappointment is great.

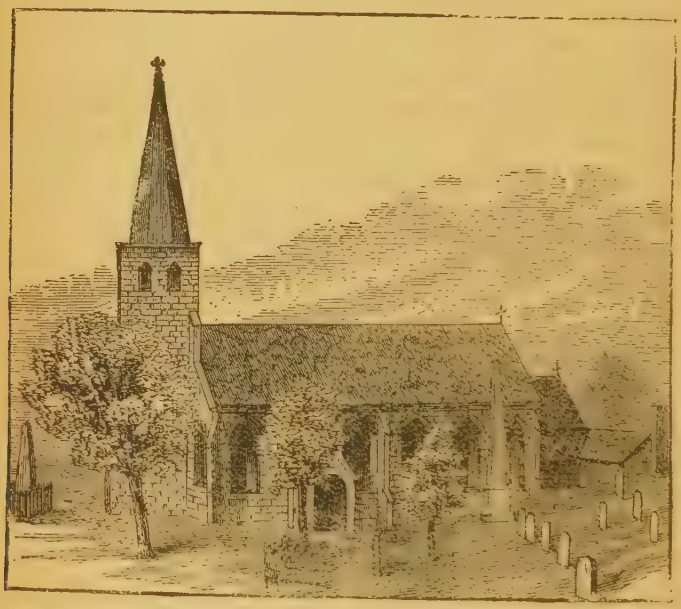
The strong attachment which I feel for the county, the pride which I cherish in its traditions, and the high estimate which I have always placed on the character of its people, increase with years and reflection. The pioneers were strong-hearted, God-fearing, resolute men, wholly, or almost wholly, of Scotch or Scotch-Irish descent. They were men who, according to an inherited maxim, never turned their backs on a friend or an enemy.

For twenty years, dating from the middle period of the Revolution, the settlers were composed very largely of men who had themselves served in the Continental army, many of them as officers, and they imparted an intense patriotism to the public sentiment.

A FOURTH-OF-JULY CELEBRATION.

It may be among the illusions of memory, but I think I have nowhere else seen the Fourth of July and Washington's Birthday celebrated with such zeal and interest as in the gatherings I there attended. I recall a great meeting of the people on the Fourth of July, 1840, on the border of the county, in Brownsville, at which a considerable part of the procession was composed of vehicles filled with Revolutionary soldiers. I was but ten years old, and may possibly

mistake, but I think there were more than two hundred of the grand old heroes. The modern cant criticism which we sometimes hear about Washington not being, after all, a very great man, would have been dangerous talk on that day and in that assemblage.



CHURCH AT BROWNSVILLE, PA.,
And Cemetery Where Blaine's Parents are Buried.

These pioneers placed a high value on education, and while they were still on the frontier struggling with its privations they established two excellent colleges, long since prosperously united in one. It would be impossible to overstate the beneficent and widespread influence which Washington and Jefferson Colleges have exerted on the civilization of that great

country which lies between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi River. Their graduates have been prominent in the pulpit, at the bar, on the bench, and in the high stations of public life. During my service of eighteen years in Congress, I met a larger number of the alumni of Washington and Jefferson than of any other single college in the Union.

GREAT EDUCATIONAL ADVANTAGES.

I make this statement from memory, but I feel assured that a close examination of the rolls of the two Houses, from 1863 to 1881, would fully establish its correctness. Not only were the two colleges founded and well sustained, but the entire educational system of the county, long before the school tax and public schools, was comprehensive and thorough. I remember that in my own boyhood there were ten or eleven academies or select schools in the county, where lads could be fitted for college.

In nearly every instance the Presbyterian pastor was the principal teacher. Many who will be present at your Centennial will recall the succession of well-drilled students, who came, for so many years, from the tuition of Dr. McCluskey, at West Alexander, from Rev. John Stockton, at Cross Creek, from Rev. John Eagleson, of Buffalo, and from others of like worth and reputation.

A FAVORED COUNTY.

It was inevitable that a county thus peopled should grow in strength, wisdom and wealth. Its sixty thousand inhabitants are favored far beyond the average lot of man. They are blest with a fertile soil and with a health-giving climate, which belongs to the charmed latitude of the fortieth parallel, the middle of the wheat and corn belt of the continent. Beyond

this they enjoy the happy and ennobling influences of scenery as grand and as beautiful as that which lures tourists thousands of miles beyond the sea.

I have, myself, visited many of the celebrated spots in Europe and in America, and I have nowhere witnessed a more attractive sight than was familiar to my eyes, in boyhood, from the old Indian Hill Farm, where I was born, and where my great-grandfather, the elder Neal Gillespie, settled before the outbreak of the Revolution.

The majestic sweep of the Monongahela through the foot of the Alleghanies, with a chain of mountains, but twenty miles distant, in full view, gave an impression of beauty and sublimity which can never be effaced.

I talk thus familiarly of localities and of childhood incidents because your assemblage, though composed of thousands, will, in effect, be a family reunion, where the only thing in order will be tradition and recollections, and personal history. Identified as I have been, for twenty-eight years, with a great and noble people in another section of the Union, I have never lost any of my attachments for my native county and my native State. The two feelings no more conflict than does a man's love for his wife and his love for his mother.

Wherever I may be in life, or whatever my fortune, the County of Washington, as it anciently was, taking in all the State south and west of the Monongahela, will be sacred in my memory. I shall always recall with pride that my ancestry and kindred were, and are, not inconspicuously connected with its history, and that on either side of the beautiful river, in Protestant and Catholic cemeteries, five generations of my own blood sleep in honored graves. Very sincerely yours,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

In the little burying-ground of Brownsville, close to the church, is a plain granite monument, erected by Mr. Blaine, over the graves of his father and mother ; the pedestal bears this inscription :

EPHRAIM LYON BLAINE,
Born Feb. 28, 1796.
Died June 28, 1850.

MARIA GILLESPIE,
WIFE OF
EPHRAIM LYON BLAINE,
Born May 22, 1801.
Died May 5, 1871.

Requiescat in Pace.

Below this in large letters is the word "Blaine."

CHAPTER II.

Young Blaine as a Student and Teacher.

James entered Washington College in 1843, being then thirteen years of age, and became at once prominent as a scholar among the two or three hundred other lads from all parts of the country, and because of his splendid physique he was also a leader in all manly athletic sports. He was not a bookworm, or a burner of midnight oil, but he was a close student, and possessed the happy faculty of assimilating knowledge from books and tutors far more easily and quickly than most of his fellows. In debating societies he held his own well, and was conspicuous by his ability to control and direct others.

In his classes he was always foremost as a scholar, and personally very popular. To the new scholars who entered in succeeding classes he was a hero—uniformly kind to them, ready to give assistance and advice, and eager to make pleasant their path in college life. His handsome person and neat attire; his ready sympathy and prompt assistance; his frank, generous nature, and his brave, manly bearing, made him the best known, the best loved, and the most popular boy at college. He was the arbiter among younger boys in all their disputes, and the authority

with those of his own age on all questions. He was always for the "under dog in the fight."

GRADUATES WITH HIGH HONOR.

And at the end of the usual four years' course at college he was graduated, in 1847, with the most distinguished honors of his class, and went forth into practical life well fitted in acquirements and training to deal with its problems, and bearing as a crown of youthful honor the affection and esteem of all his associates.

Mr. Gow, the editor of one of the papers in Washington, Pa., who was Blaine's classmate, speaks thus of his school-days:

Yes; Blaine graduated in the class of '47, when he was only seventeen years old. I graduated in the same class. We were thrown a great deal together, not only in school, but in society. He was a great favorite in the best social circles in the town. He had the most remarkable memory of any boy in school, and could commit and retain his lessons without difficulty. He never demonstrated in his youth, except by his wonderful memory, any of the great powers as a debater and thinker that he has since given evidence of.

When a man has filled so large a place in the public eye as Mr. Blaine has, his early life seems a great way off. When you get where every other man you meet can tell you all about it, then you seem to see it in a different light, and it leaves a far different impression upon your mind. Here, what seemed to be to

you, when away, traditions far in the distant past, appear like the recollections of yesterday. People cannot only tell you of his father and his grandfather, but of almost every phase of his life from boyhood up.

REMEMBERED IN HIS COUNTRY HOME.

The stories of his early struggles and triumphs are as vivid as those of his later years, and his name is closely associated with the lore of the country side. He left here soon after he graduated, but how little did he then think that his home would be made in the Northland, and his fame and fortune won many miles away from the quaint old town where he grew up. It is a nice place for peace and rest. The people are contented and happy with their splendid educational institutions, their rich acres, and plenty of money. He had close alliances here then that were likely to bring him back to stay.

Almost his first occupation after graduating was as a teacher in the Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind. Why before this he went to Kentucky to teach school has been a question often asked but never answered. There is a tradition here that there is but one being who knows. Like other boys he had his friendships and his loves, and it would be strange if he had grown up—for he is said to have been as handsome a boy as he is a man—without leaving some impression upon the hearts of the maidens of the neighborhood.

If there is one person living who can tell, and there

THE RESIDENCE OF JAMES G. BLAINE, AUGUSTA, MAINE.

THE CAPITOL – THE SCENE OF BLAINE'S GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS.

is, it has been and doubtless will be forever kept as a sealed book, so far as the details are concerned. It was one of those youthful misunderstandings that often come to two people who hope to start out on the voyage of life together, and are separated by an angry sea before they meet. There is not even a suggestion as to which of the two was at fault for the parting of the ways that led their life's journeys into different paths.

IMPEDIMENT IN HIS SPEECH.

Mr. H. H. M. Pusey, of Iowa, classmate, and a late member of Congress from Iowa, says:

James Blaine, as I remember him, was a pretty well-built boy and a hard student. He had an impediment of speech, however, which at first prevented him from joining in our debates and declamations, but he could distance all his classmates in the matter of studies, and his memory was remarkable.

We had in the college a literary society, of which I was president, about the time Blaine was sixteen years old. One day he came to me and said: "B-Bill, I would like to be p-president of the literary society. Can you f-f-fix it for me?" I answered: "Why, what do you know about the literary society? You have never taken any part in the debates, and have always preferred to pay your fine to taking active part. Do you know anything about parliamentary practice?" He replied: "No, but I can c-commit Cushing's Manual to memory in one night."

Well, the result was that at the next meeting I

"fixed it" for him, and at the meeting the next week Blaine was elected president, vice Pusey, term expired. As he had promised, he committed the entire contents of Cushing's Manual, and he proved the best president the literary society of the college ever had.

STORY OF THE GOOSE.

Another story of the same period, told by one of his old neighbors, is too good to be lost: I remember one day his father told him to get up early and go to the market and buy a turkey. He gave him a dollar, which was a good deal of money in those days. Well, James brought home the bird and handed it to old Dinah, the colored cook of the Blaine family.

When the elder Blaine came down to breakfast Dinah greeted him: "Mars Blaine, dat dar turkey what Mars Jim buyed dis mawnin' am de quarest turkey I's ever seed. 'Deed it is, Mars Blaine." "Why, what's the matter with it, Dinah? ain't it big enough?" replied the old gentleman. "It ought to be, surely; Jim paid a dollar for it." "Oh, yes, Mars Blaine, de turkey is big 'nuff, but it am de funniest turkey dis yer nigger ever seed." Mars Blaine went out to the kitchen to look at the "turkey," and found it to be a ten-year-old goose. He called Jim down and hauled him over the coals, saying: "Why, Jim, you ought to be ashamed of yourself. Fifteen years old, and can't tell a turkey from a goose!" Jim hung his head and simply replied: "Why, how's a boy to tell a turkey from a goose when its feathers are off?"

A BIG-HEARTED YOUTH.

Hon. Robert E. Williams, of Illinois, a prominent lawyer, a college-mate, but not a classmate, bears this testimony: Young Blaine was a big-hearted, whole-souled, good-natured fellow in his college days. We both attended Washington College, in Pennsylvania, and were intimate friends. Blaine was a good companion in his school days—strong in physical strength, fond of out-door sports, yet in a certain sense loving seclusion and his books.

He was a faithful student, and was regarded by his college-mates as a brilliant and progressive scholar. He was an aggressive fellow whenever there was anything to be accomplished which he thought would be productive of good results. From his earliest college days he seemed to have but one ambition, and that was to make his mark as a journalist.

He was an industrious writer, and wrote, perhaps, during his college course, a greater number and a greater variety of essays and other articles than any member of his class. He used to remark that a school-teacher or an editor could accomplish more good in the world than any one else, and he thought, after leaving college, he would surely enter the journalistic walks of life.

REMARKABLE FEAT OF MEMORY.

Another says: He was a great reader of history, and was so methodical in his arrangement of facts that he could in an instant present an array of them that would overwhelm an opponent. An incident illustrat-

ing this power is told of him: When a little boy, his sister challenged him to a contest in naming the counties of the State of Pennsylvania. She named them all, and he immediately named them, and every county-seat besides.

Another writes: His most notable trait, perhaps, was combativeness. He was always at home in an argument, and generally invited it. It was the delight of the Democratic politicians to engage him in political discussions, as he was, even then, well versed in political history, and was an ardent upholder of the Whig doctrines to the last. During his course in 1844, the party lines were drawn unusually close regarding some widely discussed questions that led to the Mexican war, and in all these affairs young Blaine's readiness and force in argument was a matter of general remark.

WOULD TALK POLITICS ALL NIGHT.

His ability to give utterance to anything he had to say, in the most forcible manner, was also noticeable in his wrangles or political discussions with his fellow-students. His absolute self-command under difficulties here also exhibited itself distinctly in his character. He was the most skilful mathematician in his class, and frequently would demonstrate the problem in a way not found in the books.

A room-mate gives this item, which is very suggestive as showing his strong political bent and power: I remember, when we were rooming together, that our room was a debating headquarters. Blaine would sit

WASHINGTON COLLEGE AS IT APPEARED IN 1847, WHEN MR. BLAINE GRADUATED.

all night and talk politics if he could get anybody to talk back or listen. He preferred an opponent, but if he couldn't get one, he was content if he had some one to sit and listen to him.

He had a fashion of sitting sideways at the table, with his feet cocked up in such a way that he could swing his right hand around and whack the table. There he would sit and talk, and pound that table until I often thought he would split our ears and that table-top at the same time.

He had national, State, and county affairs on his finger ends, was familiar with men and measures, and could run over all of them. Many a night I have pleaded with him to stop, and let me go to sleep, but the only way to shut him up was to put out the visitors and the lights at the same time. Then he had to go to bed.

HIS POPULARITY.

One further reminiscence, and an interesting one: To the new-comers and freshmen Blaine was always a hero. To them he was uniformly kind, ever ready to assist and advise them, and to make smooth and pleasant their initiation into college life. His handsome person, his ready sympathy and prompt assistance, his frank and generous nature, and his brave, manly bearing, made him the best known, the best loved, and the most popular boy at school. He was a natural student, excelling pre-eminently in mathematics and English branches, showing also good work in the dead languages of the classics. Mathematics,

without question, were to him a pleasure. He was always perfect in mathematical recitations, and was the idol of his teacher, Professor Aldrich.

His intellect early showed vigor, thoroughness, and discipline. He was not content to follow the books. A great memory rarely combines with high mathematical or reasoning power, but in Mr. Blaine was early seen that most wonderful combination, and to it his commanding force of intellect is no doubt largely due. Few men have this union of great retentive and great reasoning power in any degree, almost none in so marked a degree as Mr. Blaine. No one could come in contact with him without being impressed and almost startled by the tremendous power which this enabled him to wield.

A POWERFUL ANTAGONIST.

The man who detects at a glance the weak point or fallacy of an argument, and remembers unerringly the one fact in the whole world of facts which exposes it, the man whose memory never sleeps and whose logic seldom falters, is an antagonist whose lance is quick to kill and powerful to protect.

Even in college, while he could have memorized a demonstration in Euclid as readily as Cushing's Manual, he rather sought to reach and establish his proposition in a fresh way and by original thought. His vigorous and eager mind would sometimes throw off restraints and discard aids, confident, like the athlete, in the elasticity and discipline of his strength.

In college, as in after life, Mr. Blaine was strictly

temperate in all his habits. He graduated in 1847, sharing the honors, in a class of thirty-three, with Mr. John C. Hervey, who afterwards became Superintendent of Public Instruction in Wheeling, Va., and Mr. T. W. Porter, who devoted himself to journalism. It is noticeable, as showing the tendency of his thoughts, that his graduating oration was upon "The Duty of an Educated American."

INSTRUCTOR AND FRIEND.

The best results of college training are not always those which can be measured in marks, or even in knowledge and discipline. Often it would be found that the personal influence of some one professor, more than anything that he or anybody else taught, was that which in after life remained longest and bore the best fruit. In our large colleges such intimacies are increasingly impossible, but there was a man in Washington College, in 1847, who did for James G. Blaine what few men could have done—threw around him the influence of a thorough manhood. Mr. Blaine owed to Professor Murray a debt which could not be measured, and which he was proud to own. With this valued friend and instructor he read through the Greek Testament, taking a portion every Sunday.

It would be interesting to recover, if possible, the Salutatory which James G. Blaine rose timidly to address to his friends and schoolmates. The subject, we have seen, was one that would only have been chosen by a youth of some originality of thought.

WILLIAM McKINLEY.

Buy Korman

His class numbered thirty-three, of whom seventeen entered the Christian ministry.

The following is the commencement programme:

ANNUAL COMMENCEMENT
OF
WASHINGTON COLLEGE, PA.
Wednesday, September 29, 1847.

GRADUATING CLASS.

Andrew Barr,	John H. Hampton,	Edward B. Neely,
George Baird,	R. C. Holliday,	William M. Orr,
James G. Blaine,	John G. Jacob,	Samuel Power,
Josiah C. Cooper,	Richard H. Lee,	William H. M. Pusey,
George D. Curtis,	John V. LeMoyne,	T. Wilson Porter,
Thomas Creighton,	La Fayette Markle,	Huston Quail,
R. C. Colmery,	G. H. Miller,	Robert Robe,
Cephas Dodd,	J. R. Moore,	J. A. Rankin,
Hugh W. Forbes,	William S. Moore,	James H. Smith,
Alexander M. Gow,	Robert J. Munce,	John H. Storer,
John C. Hervey,	M. P. Morrison,	Alexander Wilson.—33.

MATRI ALMÆ SIMUS HONORI.

ORDER OF EXERCISES.

Music—Prayer—Music.

1st. Latin Salutatory ..... John C. Hervey, Brooke County, Va.
Music.

2d. English Salutatory and Oration.... James G. Blaine, West Brownsville, Pa.
Music.

3d. Greek Salutatory... ..... T. W. Porter, Fayette County, Pa.
Music.

4th. Oration—The Sword and the Plough..... J. G. Jacob, Wellsburgh, Va.
Music.

5th. Oration—Byron..... Huston Quail, Union Valley, Pa.
Music.

6th Oration—The Era of Napoleon ..... La Fayette Markle, Mill Grove, Pa.
Music.

7th. A Poem—The Collegian ....G. D. Curtis, Grove Creek, Va.
Music.

8th. Oration—Moral Warfare ..... J. R. Moore, Wellsville, O.
Music.

9th. Oration—Poverty Useful in the Development of Genius .....
.....R. C. Colmery, Hayesville, O.
Music.
10th. Oration—The American Boy.....E. B. Neely, Washington City, D. C.
Music—Conferring of Degrees—Music.
11th. Valedictory..... .....William M. Orr, Wayne County, O.
Music.

BENEDICTION.

From his alma mater young Blaine went to Blue Lick Springs, Kentucky, and became a professor in the Western Military Institute, in which there were about 450 boys. A retired officer, who was a student there at the time, relates that Professor Blaine was a thin, handsome, earnest young man, with the same fascinating manners he has now. He was popular with the boys, who trusted him and made friends with him from the first. He knew the given names of every one, and he knew their shortcomings and their strong points.

He was a man of great personal courage, and during a fight between the faculty of the school and the owners of the springs, involving some questions about the removal of the school, he behaved in the bravest manner, fighting hard but keeping cool. Revolvers and knives were freely used, but Blaine only used his well-disciplined muscle. Colonel Thornton F. Johnson was the principal of the school, and his wife had a young ladies' school at Millersburg, twenty miles distant. It was at this place that Mr. Blaine met Miss Stanwood, who belonged to an excellent family, and she afterwards became his wife.

Blaine remained in Kentucky until about the year 1851, when he returned to Pennsylvania. He had formed the intention of devoting himself to the law profession, and was anxious to pursue his studies with this end in view. "The lion knows he is strong," and young Blaine, being conscious of his powers and the influence he could exert over others, naturally desired to follow a pursuit in which he could appear to advantage.

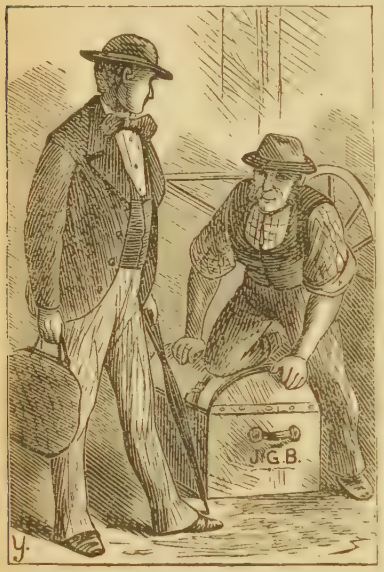
A LAW STUDENT.

For a time he read law in his native county, and then removed to Philadelphia, where he would have larger opportunities for study, and at the same time might be able to earn a support by teaching. The fame of the Philadelphia bar is world wide. Connected with it have been some of the most famous lawyers whose names enrich the annals of the legal profession.

Here, the young student felt would be a good training school, and he could thoroughly equip himself for the profession which, at this time, he intended to adopt. Yet he could not free himself from the charms of anticipated journalism, and found it hard to give up his early intention of making this his chosen pursuit. For a time he studied law in the office of the late Theodore Cuyler, but did not seek admission to the bar. He never engaged in the practice of law, although he would doubtless have risen to the front rank in the legal profession.

"Yes, I remember young James G. Blaine dis-

tinctly," said William Chapin, the principal of the Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind, in Philadelphia. "He was principal teacher here on the boys' side for two years, and when he departed he left behind him not only universal regret at a serious loss to the institution, but an impression of his personal force upon the work and its methods, which survives the lapse of twenty years."



BLAINE'S ARRIVAL IN PHILADELPHIA, WHEN HE BECAME A TEACHER IN THE BLIND ASYLUM.

The Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind, at Twentieth and Race streets, is the second place in which Mr. Blaine taught after his graduation from Washington College. He rang the bell at the front door of the building one summer afternoon in 1852, in answer to an advertisement for a teacher.

"There were thirty or forty other applicants," said Mr. Chapin, "but his manner was so winning and he possessed so many manifestly valuable qualities that I closed an engagement with him at once, and he became a teacher in the institution.

"He was married, and his wife and little son Wal-

ker came here with him. His qualities, which impressed me most deeply, were his culture, the thoroughness of his education and his unfailing self-possession. He was also a man of very decided will, and was very much disposed to argument. He was young then—only twenty-two—and was rather impulsive, leaping to a conclusion very quickly.

"But he was always ready to defend his conclusions, however suddenly he seemed to have reached them. We had many a familiar discussion in this very room, and his arguments always astonished me by the knowledge they displayed of facts in history and politics. His memory was remarkable, and seemed to retain details which ordinary men would forget.

BLAINE'S FIRST BOOK.

"Now, I will show you something that illustrates how thoroughly Mr. Blaine mastered anything he took hold of," said Mr. Chapin, as he took from a desk in the corner of the room a thick quarto manuscript book, bound in dark, brown leather, and lettered "Journal" on the corner. "This book Mr. Blaine compiled with great labor from the minute books of the Board of Managers. It gives an historical view of the institution from the time of its foundation up to the time of Mr. Blaine's departure. He did all the work in his own room, telling no one of it until he left. Then he presented it, through me, to the Board of Managers, who were both surprised and gratified. I believe they made him a present of $100 as a thank-offering for an invaluable work."

Indeed, this book, the first historical work of Mr. Blaine, is a model of its kind. On the title-page, in ornamental pen-work, executed at that time by Mr. Chapin, is the inscription;

JOURNAL
of the
PENNSYLVANIA INSTITUTION
for the
INSTRUCTION OF THE BLIND,
from its foundation.

Compiled from official records
by
JAMES G. BLAINE,
1854.

The methodical character of the work is most remarkable. On the first page every abbreviation used in the book is entered alphabetically. The first entry reads: "On this and the four following pages will be found some notes in regard to the origin of the Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind, furnished by I. Francis Fisher, Esq." From this page to the 188th, in which is the last entry made by Mr. Blaine, every line is a model of neatness and accuracy. On every page is a wide margin. At the top of the margin is the year, in ornamental figures. Below it is a brief statement of what the text contains opposite that portion of the marginal entry.

"Every year's record closes with an elaborate table, giving the attendance of members of the board. The last pages of the book are filled with alphabetical lists of officers of the institution and statistical tables, compiled by the same patient and untiring hand. One of the lists is that of the 'principal teachers.' No. 13 is followed by the signature, 'Jas. G. Blaine, from August 5, 1852, to'—and then, in another hand, the record is completed with date November 23, 1854.

MASTER OF FACTS AND DETAILS.

"I think that the book," remarked Mr. Chapin, "illustrates the character of the man in accurate mastery of facts and orderly presentation of details. We still use it for reference.

"I recall one incident," Mr. Chapin continued, "which indicates Mr. Blaine's mode of discipline, and shows, too, that he was in those days somewhat impulsive. It was one of his duties to take charge of the boys at breakfast, and sometimes there would be a few sleepy laggards. One morning a whole room full of boys, five or six of them, failed to appear. Mr. Blaine quietly walked up-stairs and locked them in. The boys had a screw-driver and they unfastened the lock; but by the time they reached the breakfast-room the tables had been cleared. 'You can have no breakfast,' was the teacher's announcement. The boys thereupon declared that they wouldn't go into Mr Blaine's classes. He reported them to me.

THE REBELLION ENDED.

"Although I thought it perhaps a little severe to

669

deprive them of breakfast, I felt obliged to sustain Mr. Blaine, and told them to go to their class-rooms as usual. They still refused, and I suspended them for the day. The next morning they rose in time for breakfast, attended classes, and the little rebellion was over.

"Mr. Blaine taught mathematics, in which he excelled, and the higher branches. His wife was universally beloved, and often read aloud to the pupils. When he went away to become editor of the *Kennebec Journal*, we felt that we had lost a man of large parts, and we have watched his upward career with great interest. He has called here a number of times when he stopped in the city on his way to and from Washington."

A PUPIL'S RECOLLECTIONS.

Mr. Blaine was very popular at the Institution for the Instruction of the Blind. A visitor to the Institution met one of his pupils who said: "Everybody loved Mr. Blaine and his wife. Both were always ready to do anything for our amusement in leisure hours, and we had a great deal of fun, into which they entered heartily. I think that Mrs. Blaine read nearly all of Dickens' works aloud to us, and Mr. Blaine used to make us roar with laughter by reading out of a book entitled 'Charcoal Sketches.' This large room at the right of the main entrance to the building, separated by folding doors from another room, used to be thrown open, and in the evenings he would sit there under the gaslight reading aloud to both the

GEORGE F EDMUNDS

BLAINE'S FORMER RESIDENCE AT WASHINGTON.

boys and girls. Then we would wind up with a spelling-bee. Sometimes Mr. Blaine would give out the words, and sometimes one of the big boys would do it, while Mr. Blaine stood up among the boys. Then we would have great fun trying to 'spell the teacher down.'"

When a celebrated minister in New York was asked by a young and ambitious pulpiteer how he could get a call to a large church and a wider field for the exercise of his gifts, he was told to fill well the place he then occupied. Promotion would come then in a natural way. It was Mr. Blaine's ambition to be useful wherever he was and to "fill the bill." This was the great secret of his upward career; he stepped easily from the lower to the higher sphere.

CHAPTER III.

Editor and Political Leader.

Miss Stanwood was a native of Maine, and after her marriage to Mr. Blaine was anxious for him to make that State his home. This he determined to do, and in 1853 the young couple removed to Augusta, where they made their home.

In the following year Mr. Blaine entered into partnership with Joseph Baker, a prominent lawyer of that town, and the two purchased *The Kennebec Journal*, of which Mr. Blaine at once became the editor. The *Journal* was a weekly paper, one of the organs of the Whig party, and exercised considerable political influence. In 1857 Mr. Blaine disposed of his interest in this paper, and became editor of *The Portland Daily Advertiser*. In the campaign of 1860 he returned temporarily to his old post on *The Kennebec Journal* on account of the illness of its editor.

His career in journalism lasted six years, and was marked throughout by ability and success. It served to give him a good introduction to the world of politics and statesmanship. In everything he wrote Mr. Blaine was vigorous and fearless. He contended always for a principle. No amount of adverse opinion could make him change his course. He was not

RESIDENCE OF JAMES G. BLAINE ON STATE ST., AUGUSTA, MAINE.

obstinate nor illogical, but after once forming an opinion, after carefully reviewing the causes that led to it, he could not be swerved by persuasion nor intimidation.

HELPS TO ORGANIZE THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

When the old Whig party went to pieces Mr. Blaine joined hands with Governor Anson P. Morrill in organizing the Republican party in the Pine Tree State. His vigorous attacks upon the Buchanan Administration made him a power in the new organization.

The late Governor Kent, of Maine, speaking of Mr. Blaine's career in that State, said: "Almost from the day of his assuming editorial charge of the Kennebec *Journal*, at the early age of twenty-three, Mr. Blaine sprang into a position of great influence in the politics and policy of Maine. At twenty-five he was a leading power in the councils of the Republican party, so recognized by Fessenden, Hamlin, and the two Morrills, and others then and still prominent in the State. Before he was twenty-nine he was chosen chairman of the Executive Committee of the Republican organization in Maine—a position from which he practically shaped and directed every political campaign in the State, always leading his party to brilliant victory."

Mr. Blaine has given us the following masterly review of the events which led to the formation of the Republican party and its early history:

Thenceforward new alliances were rapidly formed.

In the South those Whigs who, though still unwilling to profess an anti-slavery creed, would not unite with the Democrats, were reorganized under the name of the American party, with Humphrey Marshall, Henry Winter Davis, Horace Maynard, and men of that class, for leaders. This party was founded on proscription of foreigners, and with special hostility to the Roman Catholic Church. It had a fitful and feverish success, and in 1854–5, under the name of Know-nothings, enrolled tens of thousands in secret lodges. But its creed was narrow, its principles were illiberal, and its methods of procedure boyish and undignified. The great body of thinking men in the North saw that the real contest impending was against slavery and not against naturalization laws and ecclesiastical dogmas. The Know-nothings therefore speedily disappeared, and a new party sprang into existence composed of Anti-Slavery Whigs and Anti-Slavery Democrats.

The latter infused into the ranks of the new organization a spirit and an energy which Whig traditions could never inspire.

INSTANT SUCCESS.

The same name was not at once adopted in all the free States in 1854, but by the ensuing year there was a general recognition throughout the North that all who intended to made a serious fight against the pro-slavery Democracy would unite under the flag of the Republican party. In its first effort, without compact organization, without discipline, it rallied the anti-

slavery sentiment so successfully as to carry nearly all of the free States, and to secure a plurality of the members of the House of Representatives. The indignation of the people knew no bounds. Old political landmarks disappeared, and party prejudices of these generations were swept aside in a day. With such success in the outset, the Republicans prepared for a vigorous struggle in the approaching Presidential election.

REPEAL OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

The anti-slavery development of the North was not more intense than the pro-slavery development of the South. Every other issue was merged in the one absorbing demand by Southern slaveholders for what they sincerely believed to be their rights in the Territories. It was not viewed on either side as an ordinary political contest. It was felt to be a question, not of expediency, but of morality, not of policy, but of honor. It did not merely enlist men—women took a large part in the agitation. It did not end with absorbing the laity; the clergy were as profoundly concerned.

The power of the Church, on both sides of the dividing line, was used with great effect in shaping public opinion and directing political action.

The Missouri Compromise was repealed in May. Before the end of the year a large majority of the people of the North and a large majority of the people of the South were distinctly arrayed against each other on a question which touched the interest, the pride, the conscience, and the religion of all who were

concerned in the controversy. Had either side been insincere, there would have been voluntary yielding or enforced adjustment. But each felt himself to be altogether in the right, and its opponent altogether in the wrong. Thus they stood confronting each other at the close of the year 1854.

MR. BLAINE'S EDITORIALS.

A few extracts from his editorials will, better than any words of ours, show the drift of his opinion in these stirring days. The following declaration of principles appeared in the *Journal* soon after Mr. Blaine assumed the management of it:

Politically, THE JOURNAL will pursue the same course it has marked out for the last two months. We shall cordially support the Morrill or Republican party, the substantial principles of which are, as we understand them, freedom, temperance, river and harbor improvements within Constitutional limits, homesteads for freemen, and a just administration of the public lands of the State and nation. We shall advocate the cause of popular education as the surest safeguard of our Republican institutions, and especially the common schools of the State and city.

BRAVE WORDS.

In December, 1854, the following editorial appeared on "The Permanency of the Republican Party:"

The great Republican party that has suddenly developed itself on the political theatre, embodying the anti-slavery sentiment of the country as its leading characteristic, when considered in its natural elements,

in its history and progress, or in the light of experience, has every appearance of permanence and progress.

It does not, as the *Mercury* intimates, foreshadow the dissolution of the Union, but its salvation. The slave States will never dissolve the Union. They have too great a stake in its preservation, for the arm of the Federal Government is absolutely necessary to keep them from insurrection and massacre by the millions of slaves now groaning under the accursed lash. But dissolution, if it ever come, must come from the free States, stripped of their rights and degraded in the government, as they have been for the last twenty years, and goaded on to desperation by a continuance and perpetual repetition of these aggressions.

The Union will be saved by arresting the gigantic strides of the slave-power towards political supremacy, driving it back into its legitimate sphere, and restoring to the North its just and equal rights. But that other alternative, mentioned by the *Mercury*, may not in the end result from the permanent dominion of the Republican party, we are not prepared to deny; on the contrary, it is the hope of many an earnest heart that beats the warmest in this glorious movement, that God in His wise Providence will make it the instrumentality of the final "extinction of slavery" in this Republic.

In this hope we live and labor, and will labor while we live, believing that a country redeemed from the

WILLIAM WINDOM

THOMAS B. REED.

shame and curse of slavery, purified and restored to the Republicanism of its palmy days, will be the richest legacy we can leave to posterity. Drive rum as a beverage from all the avenues of society, place the tide of foreign immigration that is pouring in upon us with such fearful power under proper restrictions, and in a course of education that shall prepare it, as the American citizen is now prepared, for the high functions of freedom; strike the fetters from the limb of every slave that breathes in all this vast domain, so that, from centre to circumference, only the glad shout of liberty shall be heard, and the smile of Providence will bless this land as it never has been blessed, and the glory shall roll on from generation to generation while time shall last.

MR. BLAINE ON THE NEW PARTY.

In March, 1855, Mr. Blaine wrote enthusiastically of the formation of the new party in Maine, and of its first convention:

It can no longer be questioned that we have in Maine a well-organized and powerful party, which shares the sympathy and influence of a decided majority of the people. That radical and permanent causes have been operating for years to bring about the present condition of things, is so well known as to need no repetition. Ignored and resisted as those causes were by selfish schemers, personal aims, and the force of old party watchwords, they increased yearly in breadth and strength, until they have become one resistless current of public opinion, fed by

the various springs of moral and patriotic feelings, which are so fresh and healthful in the social soil of Maine, on which the ship of State is fairly launched, with the flags of temperance, freedom, and American enterprise waving proudly at the masthead.

The Republican party, therefore, is not the creation of a few individuals; it is the production of moral ideas which have long been asserting their sway in the consciences and hearts of the people. It is pre-eminently the child of ideas and of the people. Strong as these ideas and their friends had shown themselves in the political efforts of the two or three years past, old political organizations had prevented the union of men of like principles in one well-organized party.

The men were called by different names, yet they had a common faith and common purposes. Their principles needed expression in a common platform. The people desired one political family and one organization. Right, expediency and necessity called for a convention. What time more opportune and appropriate than the birthday of Washington? So ready were the people for action, so manifest the necessity, that a long notice was not required.

The convention of the 22d was one of the most remarkable and interesting that ever assembled in our State. The number in attendance was very large—not less than nine or ten hundred. It was composed of the true and influential portion of the people from all parts of the State. Its members came in due pro-

portion from all the former political parties, in names of long-established reputation and worth, known in the State and out of it; in men possessing the confidence and representing the convictions of their respective vicinities, no political assemblage ever held in the State surpassed the one of last week.

No body of men could be more united in opinion and resolution. The enthusiasm manifested was not a sudden and transitory feeling, but was the result of a calm yet intense conviction that a new era had arrived in the politics of the State and Nation, that high and solemn duties are now devolving on our citizens. The resolutions and the speeches indicated the spirit and the purpose, the principles and the settled determination of the Republicans of Maine, and, as we believe, of that great and truly national party which is so rapidly gathering numbers, strength, and prestige, which is to march into power in 1856, and bring the country back to the purity and the idea of its founders.

THE ONLY NATIONAL PARTY.

Upon another occasion Mr. Blaine wrote:

The Republican party is the only true national party. Its platform is the only ground upon which the friends of the Union can stand. Its fast gathering strength is to be the bulwark of the Union against the dangers that thicken around its future. It is the only breakwater against the tide of despotism that threatens to spread over the whole country.

It calls on the nation to return to the policy, the principles, and the maxims of the statesmen who won

our liberties, reared the fabric of our Government, and gave its first direction. Its principles are broad as the Union. It demands national men, national measures, and is the only truly national party that has the

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

prospect of carrying the country against the sectional, dangerous, and corrupt political organization that now controls the country, to the disgrace of the American name throughout the civilized world.

TRIBUTE TO A GREAT STATESMAN.

On the election to the United States Senate of Wm.

H. Seward, the great Republican leader, in one of his editorials we find these strong, exulting words:

The prayer of the freeman is answered. A question of the highest importance, the right decision of which for months has excited the deepest solicitude, has been solved to the joy of patriotic Americans, and for the welfare of the public. By the force of his own character as a man and a statesman, and of the moral and political principles which he represents, and which centre in him, William H. Seward has been re-elected to the American Senate by the State which in her earlier days gave the nation a Clinton, a Livingston, a Jay, a Hamilton, and which now with her population, her resources, and strength increased twenty-fold, bears up in her arms freedom's great leader against traitors at home and storms of relentless opposition from abroad.

The heart of the nation throbs at the event which, amid exultation and congratulations, lightning and steam are announcing to the true men of this whole continent and of the civilized world. The contest through which he has passed is without parallel in the history of this country. We have waited until the clouds of the conflict were passing away and the cannon of rejoicing had ceased, to express our exultant gratitude at the event to which we have looked forward with the strongest hope.

Reviewing the field, we saw that nothing but Mr. Seward's naked strength and the devotion of the people of the Empire State to him and to his principles

could rescue him from the combined array against him. We watched the contest with the deepest solicitude. Four months have passed. The coalition of wickedness has culminated. The battle is over. The great American statesman is unscathed, and now occupies a prouder elevation before his countrymen than ever before, and a serener and brighter future is securely his.

Never since the establishment of the Republic has there been a greater necessity for a leading statesman of far-seeing vision, of heroic, unyielding will, of courage that no threat or danger can blanch, of genius to organize and guide. We trust the friends of Mr. Seward will not misunderstand the cause and meaning of his triumph. His election is not the success or defeat of the old political organizations. His bitterest and ablest foes are among those who claim to belong to the party with which he labored from its formation to the hour of its final overthrow. Many of his ablest and most devoted friends and supporters have belonged to the Democratic party. In reality his election has been secured by that party which has been gathering numbers and strength from all former organizations, which has arisen, a young giant.

Not as the champion of an effete and rapidly dissolving party, but as a great statesman and sworn defender of freedom and the Union, he finds congenial fellowship with Chase, Sumner, Wade, Fessenden, Hamlin, King, Johnson, Wilson, Strong, Hall, Durkee, and that whole school of vigorous, determined men of

common blood and aim, who are, by the will of God and the people, to make it historical fact in 1860, that slavery is sectional and temporary, that freedom is national and universal.

AN ENEMY TO SLAVERY.

Mr. Blaine's early and consistent repugnance to slavery is strongly shown in the columns of the *Journal:*

We make it as a sober and well-considered statement that our country is to-day in greater peril by elements and agencies within her borders, than at the commencement of the Revolution by the plans of the British ministry and the power of British arms. It requires no prophet to decide that the aggressions of the slave power are more dangerous to the freedom and progress of the American people, than the threatened despotism of England in 1775. And what is the most melancholy and shameful, these aggressions have been invited and vastly strengthened by the treachery and cowardice of men living in the free States.

CHAMPION OF LIBERTY.

Speaking of the proposition to carry slavery into free Kansas, he said:

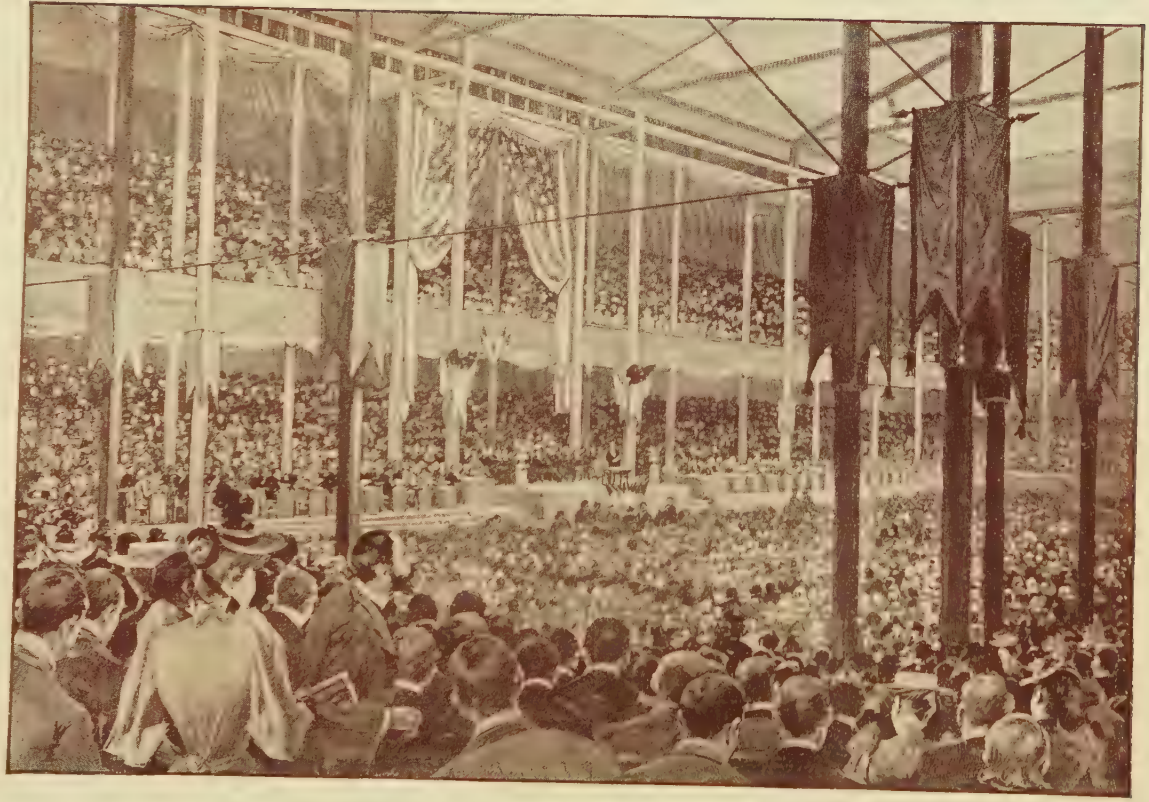
Let not the fatal spirit of compromise induce us to acquiesce in past wrongs, because of some promised advantage and security in the future. Compromise with slavery is but another phrase for Sacrifice of Liberty; and in the past we have had enough, and more than enough, of that.

NORTHERN TREASON.

Of the famous Dred Scott decision, Mr. Blaine wrote:

Whither do all these things tend? Are we to be a permanently subdued people? We can but regard them as the last turns to the screws of despotism, that presage the mighty uprising and triumph of the people. Slavery has got to the farthest limits of its power and aggression. Henceforth it must lose in the great contest which it is waging against freedom. The day of truce has gone by; the slaveholders have left the free men of the nation no other resort but revolution—a revolution, if slavery wills it to be no other, only through the peaceful agencies of the press, public opinion, of religion, and of the ballot-box. These aided by time, and the increase of free population, at no distant day, will give us every department of the government, and regain to national freedom what has been lost by Southern cupidity and Northern treason.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, SECRETARY BLAINE'S APARTMENTS.



BLAINE A CANDIDATE FOR NOMINATION AT MINNEAPOLIS, 1892.

[Reproduced from Harper's Weekly. Copyright 1892, by Harper & Brothers.]

CHAPTER IV.

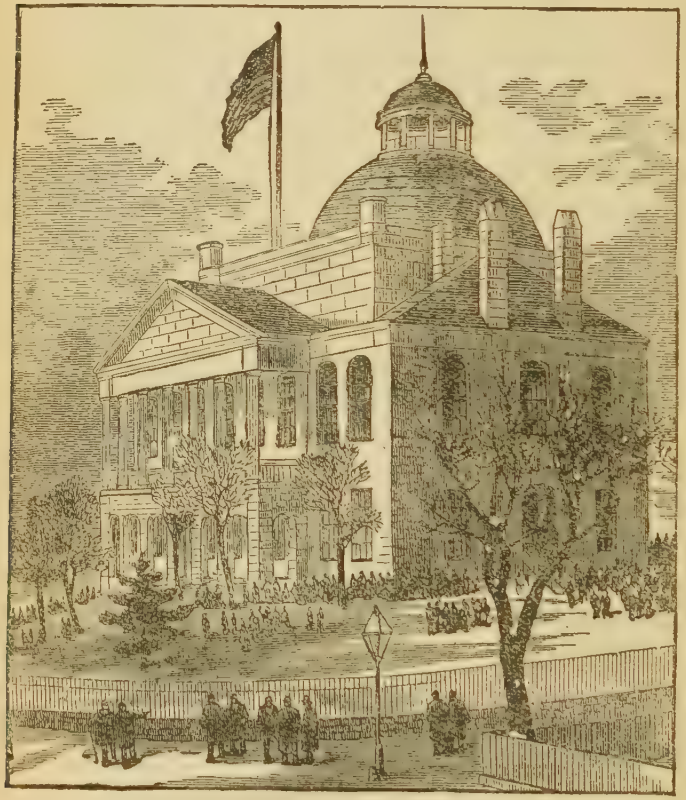
Blaine a Member of the State Legislature.

In 1858, when he was in his twenty-ninth year, Mr. Blaine was elected to the Legislature. He served two years on the floor of the Lower House and two years in the chair, where he displayed the qualities of parliamentary leadership and control that afterward gave him such renown in the National Legislature at Washington. It is also worthy of mention that he took an active part as a public speaker in the Fremont campaign of 1856.

Mr. Blaine was brought into prominence in his adopted State through his able editorials in the journals with which he was connected, and through the active interest he exhibited in all political affairs. He was public spirited; his pen and voice were always ready. It was not surprising that his neighbors and fellow-citizens should look to one so young for a leader; the young man was much older in wisdom and experience than he was in years. His was an old head on young shoulders.

In the campaign of 1856 the Kansas question, involving the introduction of slavery into new territory, was discussed tumultuously throughout the country. Blood ran high; a new party was rapidly forming,

and there was a stir in the nation as ominous as that in the forest when the storm is near. Mr. Blaine fearlessly expressed his views on the burning questions



STATE HOUSE AT AUGUSTA, MAINE.

of the hour and his words kindled fire. He became a leader, an advocate of the great principles underlying the Republican party, and a champion of the new cause.

ELECTED TO THE LEGISLATURE.

The prominent part taken by Mr. Blaine in public affairs, particularly in the Fremont campaign, naturally drew attention to him as one suitable to represent his district in the Legislature.

One remarkable characteristic of the man is worth noting. It would hardly be believed he was at this time extremely timid and diffident, and with great difficulty could be induced to give a public address. Yet such was the case. His speeches at this time were written out and committed to memory, and he seems to have acquired only gradually the full command of his powers and the ability to respond impromptu to the demand of the hour. Returning from the National Convention at Philadelphia, in which he was one of the delegates who helped to nominate Fremont for the presidency, he was asked at a ratification meeting to make a speech. At first he refused, but finally yielding to the urgent request, he began in stammering fashion, but soon rose to the occasion and spoke with telling effect.

In the Legislature he exhibited those commanding qualities and pre-eminent capabilities for leadership which afterward made him one of the most remarkable and successful speakers who ever occupied the chair of the House of Representatives.

AN IMPORTANT SPEECH.

There was a movement at this time, particularly in the South, for the purchase of the Island of Cuba. A bill was introduced into Congress by Mr. Slidell, of

Louisiana, setting forth the desirableness of making such a purchase and providing that the whole amount to be paid should not be over $125,000,000, and that $30,000,000 of this amount should be put into the hands of the President at once for the purpose of beginning negotiations.

In the Maine Legislature, Mr. Porter, of Lowell, introduced a resolution "that our Representatives in Congress be instructed to exert their influence and give their votes for any honorable measure that may be brought forward looking to the early acquisition of Cuba by the United States." It became widely known through the newspapers that Mr. Blaine was opposed to these resolves, and, as he said, they advertised him for the performance. He did not disappoint public expectation. In a brilliant and masterly oration he pointed out the extraordinary character and dangerous tendency of the Slidell bill; he showed how it broke down the constitutional safeguards of our Government by giving the whole treaty-making power to the Executive, and by allowing him, at his discretion, to annex territory, form States, and to resolve on peace or war.

Then leaving the narrow question of the Slidell bill, he stated his own views on the general subject of the acquisition of Cuba as follows:

OBJECTIONS TO THE PURCHASE OF CUBA.

In reference to the general subject of the acquisition of Cuba, which may be considered as in some sense before the House, I have a few remarks to offer, and

I am frank to confess that "a good deal may be said on one side of that question, and a good deal on the other." The acquisition of the island would incorporate into our nation a large number of people differing radically and essentially from us in race, in language, in religion, in domestichab its, and in civil institutions. Even with our enormous powers of deglutition, digestion and absorption, our energies would be taxed to a dangerous extent by the attempt to make the mixed and mongrel people of that island homogeneous with our own.

OTHERS MUST KEEP HANDS OFF.

Its annexation would also increase to an alarming extent the influence of the slave power in the government of this country, and would give them additional strength and prestige in the Senate of the United States, which, as every one knows, has always been their stronghold, both for offense and defense. The objections to the acquisition of Cuba, which grew out of these considerations, are most cogent and pressing, and certainly of sufficient weight to restrain the ardor of annexation, which some of our people might be supposed to cherish when looking at the subject purely from a commercial standpoint.

On the other hand, there is a very general acquiescence in the position that our country can never permit any other power to obtain possession of the island. Such is the well-known and peculiar situation with reference to our own country, that we would be deaf to the plainest dictates of self-interest if we should

permit it to fall under the dominion of either of our great rivals in Europe. It may, therefore, be considered the settled policy of this nation to prevent the island of Cuba from being transferred to any other nation, and I think it is equally the settled policy not to molest Spain in her peaceful and rightful possession of it.

THE FATE OF CUBA.

Every statesman in the country who has been called upon to affirm the position of our Government on this question, has uniformly taken the ground that we should not and would not disturb Spain in her ownership of the island, and that until she was ready to entertain or propose terms of cession or transfer, it was not becoming in us to agitate the question. Such are the expressed and recorded views of John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, James Buchanan, William L. Marcy, and Edward Everett—six of the most distinguished gentlemen who have presided over the State Department of this Government.

If I had public documents at hand I could quote the opinions of each and all these eminent men in support of the views I have advanced.

I am able, however, at this time, to call the attention of the House to an extract from but one of the numerous State papers to which I have referred, and that is from the letter of instructions written by Mr. Buchanan when Secretary of State under Mr. Polk, in 1848, to Mr. Romulus Saunders, of North Carolina, then our minister to Madrid. In that letter Mr. Bu-

chanan, speaking for the Administration, authorized Mr. Saunders to offer one hundred millions of dollars to Spain for the island, and he accompanied his instructions with a disclaimer of any design or desire to coerce Spain into the sale. I quote the following extract from his remarks:

"The fate of this island must ever be deeply interesting to the people of the United States. We are content that it shall continue to be a colony of Spain. Whilst in her possession we have nothing to apprehend. Besides, we are bound to her by the ties of ancient friendship, and we sincerely desire to render these perpetual."

Why, then, are we not still content that it shall be a colony of Spain? Do we not know, of a verity, that "whilst in her possession we have nothing to apprehend?" I commend Mr. Buchanan's words in 1848 to his adherents in 1859, and knowing as they do, that Spain was never so reluctant to part with Cuba as now—indeed, never so fully determined to hold it as at this moment—what, I ask, can be the object of agitation on this subject?

TROUBLED TIMES.

The foregoing utterances show that the people of Maine had found a true and patriotic leader. An instant response came from a multitude of hearts to the warm words that fell from the lips of the young legislator.

Meanwhile the commotion in the nation continued, and the waves of popular strife rose higher and higher.

The question of Slavery, it was evident, would have to be settled, even if armies waded through blood to do it. The administration of Buchanan was condemned by all except the extreme Southern party, and as the national election of 1860 approached the tide of public discussion ran deep and strong.

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

The great advocate of popular sovereignty was Senator Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois. One of the towering pillars of the Republican party was Abraham Lincoln, of the same State. These two great tribunes met each other in public debate, and here Mr. Lincoln showed the conspicuous ability, the sterling integrity and traits of statesmanship which pointed him out as the most popular leader of his party.

Mr. Blaine heard and described, as a newspaper correspondent, the debates between these two remark-

C. A. Arthur

T. A. Hendricks

able men. He has sketched the combatants with a master hand. With a few bold strokes he has outlined the giants in their gladiatorial combat. No reader can fail to be interested in the following graphic description, which is among the most brilliant productions from Mr. Blaine's facile and graceful pen:

A GIGANTIC TASK.

The contest that ensued was memorable. Douglas had a herculean task before him. The Republican party was strong, united, conscious of its power, popular, growing.

The Democratic party was rent with faction, and the Administration was irrevocably opposed to the return of Douglas to the Senate. He entered the field, therefore, with a powerful opponent in front, and with defection and betrayal in the rear. He was everywhere known as a debater of singular skill. His mind was fertile in resources. He was master of logic. No man perceived more quickly than he the strength or weakness of an argument, and no one excelled him in the use of sophistry and fallacy.

Where he could not elucidate a point to his own advantage, he would fatally becloud it for his opponent. In that peculiar style of debate which, in its intensity, resembles a physical combat, he had no equal. He spoke with extraordinary readiness. There was no halting in his phrase. He used good English, terse, vigorous, pointed. He disregarded the adornments of rhetoric—rarely used a simile, and was master of the sledge-hammer style of debate.

A KIND OF IRON MAN.

He was utterly destitute of humor, and had slight appreciation of wit. He never cited historical precedents, except from the domain of American policies. Inside that field his knowledge was comprehensive, minute, critical. Beyond it his learning was limited. He was not a reader. His recreations were not in literature. In the whole range of his voluminary speaking it would be difficult either to find a line of poetry or a classical allusion. But he was by nature an orator, and by long practice a debater. He could lead a crowd almost irresistibly to his own conclusions. He could, if he wished, incite a mob to desperate deeds.

He was, in short, an able, audacious, almost unconquerable opponent in public discussion.

It would have been impossible to find any man of the same type able to meet him before the people of Illinois. Whoever attempted it would probably have been destroyed in the first encounter. But the man who was chosen to meet him, who challenged him to the combat, was radically different in every phase of character.

LINCOLN AS A DEBATER.

Scarcely could two men be more unlike, in moral and mental constitution, than Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas. Mr. Lincoln was calm and philosophic. He loved the truth for truth's sake. He would not argue from a false premise, or be deceived himself or deceive others by a false conclusion.

He had pondered deeply on the issue which aroused him to action. He had given anxious thought to the problems of free government and to the destiny of the Republic. He had for himself marked out a path of duty, and he walked in it fearlessly. His mental processes were slower but more profound than those of Douglas. He did not seek to say merely the thing which was best for that day's debate, but the thing which would stand the test of time and square itself with eternal justice. He wished nothing to appear white unless it was white. His logic was severe and faultless. He did not resort to fallacy, and could detect it in his opponent, and expose it with merciless directness.

He had an abounding sense of humor, and always employed it in the illustration of his argument—never for the mere sake of provoking merriment. In this respect he had the wonderful aptness of Franklin.

He often taught a great truth with the felicitous brevity of an Æsop Fable. His words did not fall in an impetuous torrent as did those of Douglas, but they were always well chosen, deliberate, and conclusive.

Thus fitted for the contest, these men proceeded to a discussion which at the time was so interesting as to enchain the attention of the Nation—in its immediate effect so striking as to affect the organization of parties, in its subsequent effect so powerful as to change the fate of millions.

A TRUE PROPHET.

The nomination of Lincoln in 1860 came about as Mr. Blaine had prophesied, and after the election the relations between the two men became close and intimate, and so continued.

On the 7th of February, 1862, an exciting question came up for discussion in the Maine Legislature. Resolutions had been sent down from the senate to the house for concurrence, endorsing the administration of President Lincoln, and stating "that it is the duty of Congress to provide for the confiscation of the estates of the rebels and the liberation of their slaves, and for accepting the services of all able-bodied men, of whatever status, as military necessity may require." These resolutions found an opponent in Mr. Gould, of Thomaston, who made an elaborate argument against them. To him Blaine replied. He discussed the question in two phases—first, as to the *power* of Congress to adopt such measures; secondly, as to the *expediency* of adopting them. He denied that the war power in this Government is lodged wholly in the President; he held with Hamilton, and all constitutional lawyers, from Marshall to Webster, that Congress had no limitation on its authority to provide for the common defence in any manner.

POWER OF CONGRESS.

At the origin of our Government, Mr. Chairman, the people were jealous of their liberties; they gave power guardedly and grudgingly to their rulers; they were hostile, above all things, to what is termed the

one-man power, and you cannot but observe with what peculiar care they provided against the abuse of the war power. For after giving Congress the power "to declare war, and to raise and support armies," they added in the Constitution these remarkable and emphatic words, "but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years," which is precisely the period for which the Representatives in the popular branch are chosen. Thus, sir, this power was not given to Congress simply, but in effect it was given to the House of Representatives; the people placing it where they could lay their hands directly upon it at every biennial election, and say "yes" or "no" to the principles or policy of any war.

In all that I am thus maintaining in regard to the supreme war power of Congress, I make no conflict between that and the Executive power, which in war, as well as in all matters of civil administration, belongs to the President. The question at issue between the gentleman from Thomaston and myself is not whether the President has power of great magnitude in the conduct of a war, for that I readily admit, or rather I stoutly affirm; but the point at issue is, which is superior in authority, Congress or the President? I think I have shown that the Constitution vests the supreme unlimited power in Congress, and that the President must obey the direction of Congress, as the chief executive officer of the nation, and at the same time he must be held accountable for the mode in

which his subordinate officers execute the trust confided to them.

A BOLD REJOINDER.

Mr. Gould had denied the existence of a civil war, and that the rebels had, therefore, full right to the protection of property, guaranteed by the Constitution, and could only be deprived of it by due process of law. Blaine scornfully rejoins:

To assume the ground of the gentleman from Thomaston, with its legitimate sequences, is practically to give up the contest. For he tells you, and he certainly repeated it a score of times, that you cannot deprive these rebels of their property except "by due process of law," and at the same time he confesses that within the rebel territory it is impossible to serve any precept or enforce any verdict. He at the same time declares that we have not belligerent rights because the contest is not a civil war. Pray, what kind of a war is it? The gentleman acknowledges that the rebels are traitors, and if so they must be engaged in some kind of war, because the Constitution declares that "treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them." It is, therefore, war on their side. It must also be war on ours, and if so, what kind of war?

Mr. Gould rose and said that he would define it as *domestic* war.

Mr. Blaine:

Domestic war! that's it! Well, Mr. Chairman, we shall learn something before this discussion is over.

Domestic war! I have heard of *domestic* woolens, *domestic* sheetings, and *domestic* felicity, but a "domestic war" is something entirely new under the sun. All the writers of international law that I have ever read speak of two kinds of war, foreign and civil. Vattel will, I suppose, have a new edition with annotations by Gould, in which "domestic war" will be defined and illustrated as a contest not quite foreign, not quite civil, but one in which the rebellious party have at one and the same time all the rights of peaceful citizens and all the immunities of alien enemies—for that is precisely what the gentleman by his argument claims for the Southern secessionists.

WRONG PREMISES.

The gentleman strove elaborately to prove that this Government, this Nation, this great American people have no right to do anything not distinctly warranted in the Federal Constitution. Sir, no position could be more radically erroneous, and that false premise is the corner-stone of error on which the gentleman has reared such a superstructure of wrong deductions and conclusions.

I affirm, sir, in opposition to this assumption, that the American people have rights which are anterior to and wholly independent of the Constitution; and I affirm, moreover, that while that precious instrument will continue to be, God grant for these many generations, the rule of our civil administration, yet that over it and under it and outside of it and above it there is engraven on the hearts of this people that God-given

right, that great precept of nature, "Save thyself!" And I maintain, sir, that the great law of self-preservation which in the individual knows no limit but necessity, is even stronger in a nation, by as much as the interests and importance of a nation transcend those of an individual.

In the magnificent paragraph which I quote from Mr. Hamilton, this self-evident truth is thus tersely enunciated: "The circumstances that endanger the safety of nations are infinite; and for this reason *no constitutional shackles* can be wisely imposed on the power to which the care of it is committed." I have now, sir, at somewhat greater length than I designed when I rose, discussed the question of constitutional power, so far as it is brought into issue by the pending resolves.

RIGHTS OF THE GOVERNMENT.

I have endeavored to establish as essential to the maintenance of my position two propositions: First, that the war power of this Government is lodged in Congress; and second, that under every principle and every precedent of international law the Government of the United States, while sovereign over all, has, so long as the rebellion endures, all the rights of war against those who in armed force are seeking the life of the nation. The first resolve, endorsing the Administration in general terms, is, I believe, not objected to in any quarter, and is not in dispute between the gentleman from Thomaston and myself.

The only objection I have to it, is that it is cold and

SAMUEL J. RANDALL.

SHELBY M. COLLUM.

stiff and formal, whereas to reflect my feelings it should be warm and cordial and unreserved. I am for the Administration through and through—being an early and unflinching believer in the ability, the honesty and patriotism of Abraham Lincoln, I did in my humble sphere, both with pen and tongue, all I could to promote his election.

NEGROES IN THE ARMY.

Then passing to the third resolution, respecting the military employment of negroes, Mr. Blaine said:

The resolution must be taken and judged by itself—its own words. It simply declares that the services of all men should be accepted—this implies that the service is previously offered, and expressly negatives the idea of calling on the negroes "to rise." It further says, that these men should be employed as "military necessity and the safety of the Republic may demand." I do not anticipate that any necessity will arise for arming the slaves, and as at present advised, I would not vote for a resolution recommending that step. But there are a thousand things which the negroes may do, which would greatly lighten the labors of our brave brethren in the ranks of the National army. They may dig trenches, throw up embankments, labor on fortifications, aid in transporting baggage, and make themselves "generally useful."

But lest the gentleman should infer that I shrink from the logical consequences of some propositions which I have laid down as ultimate steps, I tell him boldly that if the life of the nation seemed to demand

the violation of the Constitution, I would violate it, and in taking this ground I am but repeating the expression of President Lincoln in his message, when he declared that "it were better to violate one provision than that all should perish." And I will give a higher and more venerable authority than President Lincoln, for the same doctrine.

No less a personage than Thomas Jefferson wrote the following sentiments in a letter to J. R. Calvin, from his retirement at Monticello, September 22, 1810: "The question you propose, whether circumstances do not sometimes occur, which make it a duty, in officers of high trust, to assume authorities beyond the law, is easy of solution in principle, but sometimes embarrassing in practice. A strict observance of the written laws is doubtless *one* of the high duties of a good citizen; but it is not the *highest.* The laws of necessity, of self-preservation, of saving our country when in danger, are of higher obligation. To lose our country by a scrupulous adherence to written law would be to lose the law itself, with life, liberty, property, and all those who are enjoying them with us; thus absurdly sacrificing the end to the means."

This doctrine cuts right athwart, and scatters to the four winds of heaven the whole argument of the gentleman. He sticks to forms; I go for substance. He sacrifices the end to the means; I stand ready to use the means essential to the end. I stand with, or rather follow after, Jefferson and Lincoln; he assumes

a ground which both of those statesmen have denounced and execrated.

I read in the President's Message something more than a great proposition for compensated emancipation. I read in it a declaration as plain as language can make it, that resolute measures may be deemed necessary to crush out the rebellion speedily and effectually, will be unhesitatingly adopted.

CHAPTER V.

First Term in Congress.

In 1862 Mr. Blaine was nominated for Congress in the Kennebec District, and was elected by a majority of 3,000 votes. To this position he was successively elected, in each succeeding Congress, until his promotion to the United States Senate.

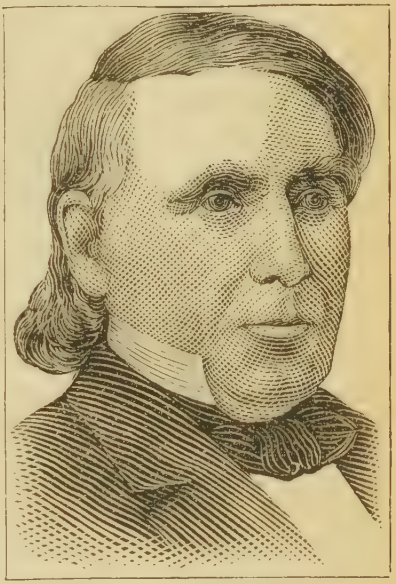
During the first term of his long career as Representative he had for colleagues such men as Elihu B. Washburne, Owen Lovejoy, George W. Julian, Godlove S. Orth, Schuyler Colfax, James F. Wilson, William B. Allison, John A. Kasson, Alexander H. Rice, Henry L. Dawes, William Windom, F. P. Blair, Jr., James Brooks, Erastus Corning, Reuben E. Fenton, Francis Kernan, George H. Pendleton, Robert C. Schenck, James A. Garfield, Samuel J. Randall, William D. Kelley, Thaddeus Stevens, G. W. Schofield, and many other distinguished men. Among these he soon was recognized as a man whose influence was sure to be felt and to increase with time.

His first reputation in the Lower House of Congress was that of an exceedingly industrious committeeman. He was a member of the Post Office and Military Committees, and of the Committees on Appropriations and Rules. He paid close attention to the

business of the committees, and took an active part in the debates of the House, manifesting practical ability and genius for details.

THRILLING SPEECH.

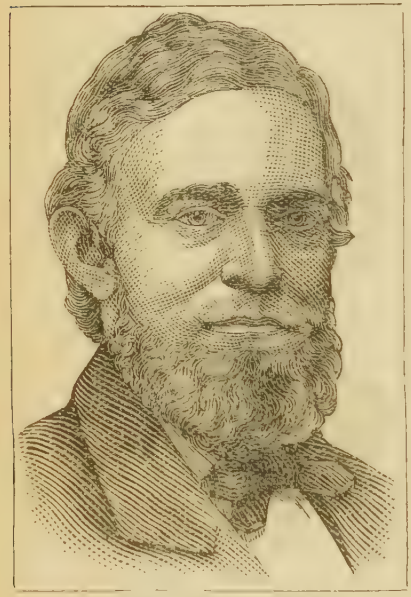
The first remarkable speech which he made in Congress was on the subject of the assumption by the General Government of the war debts of the States, in the course of which he urged that the North was abundantly able to carry on the war to a successful issue. This vigorous speech attracted so much attention that 200,000 copies of it were circulated in 1864 as a campaign document by the Republican party.



E. B. WASHBURNE.

In January, 1868, he introduced a resolution in relation to Congressional representation, which was referred to the Reconstruction Committee, and was subsequently made the basis of the Fourteenth Amendment. In December, 1867, he made an elaborate speech on the finances, in which he analyzed Mr. Pendleton's greenback theory. "The remedy for our financial troubles," said he, "will not be found in a superabundance of

depreciated paper currency. It lies in the opposite direction, and the sooner the Nation finds itself on a specie basis the sooner will the public treasury be freed from embarrassment and private business be relieved from discouragement. Instead, therefore, of entering upon a reckless and boundless issue of legal-tenders, with their constant depreciation, if not destruction, of value, let us set resolutely to work and make those already in circulation equal to so many gold dollars."



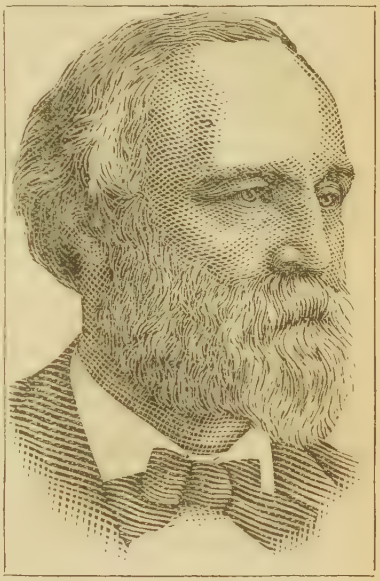
SCHUYLER COLFAX.

ELECTED SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE.

At the opening of the first session of the 41st Congress the Republican caucus nominated Mr. Blaine for Speaker by acclamation, and he was elected by a vote of 136 to 57 for Mr. Kerr. He was re-elected, without opposition in his own party, Speaker of the 42d and 43d Congresses. In that position his quickness of perception, decision of manner, thorough knowledge of parliamentary law and usages, and impartial and judicial mind, added to his clear voice and impressive presence, made him a truly great

presiding officer. No person who has occupied the Speaker's Chair has ever filled it more acceptably.

The Democratic "tidal wave" of 1874 returned a Democratic majority to the House, and Mr. Blaine returned to the floor. There his parliamentary skill and self-possession, together with his audacity of manner and versatility of talent, made him one of the most adroit and aggressive leaders ever enjoyed by a political party.



H. L. DAWES.

During Mr. Blaine's first term in Congress there were many exciting debates. The war was in progress, and it often required all the courage and tactics of those who believed in pushing it to a conclusion to silence the frequent clamor for peace. Mr. Blaine did not believe in peace at the cost of a nation.

DISCUSSION OF FREE TRADE.

Then, as ever afterward, Mr. Blaine was an ardent protectionist. He believed the country would thrive under protected industries, and he was a cordial supporter of all government measures for carrying

out this policy. A speech by Mr. S. S. Cox in favor of free trade, in which he sneeringly referred to the New England States as "protected States," called forth from Mr. Blaine a gallant defense of his own State of Maine. He spoke as follows:

SAMUEL J. RANDALL.

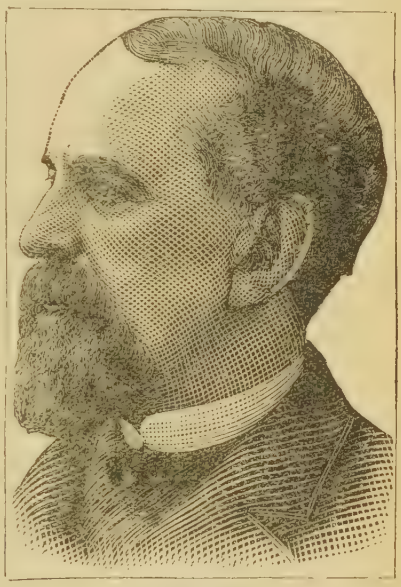
It has grown to be a habit in this house, Mr. Chairman, to speak of New England as a unit, and in assailing the New England States to class them together, as has been done to-day, by the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Cox), throughout his entire speech. In response to such attacks, each particular Representative from a New England State might feel called upon to defend the whole section.

For myself, sir, I take a different view. I have the honor to represent in part *one* State, the State of Maine, and I have no more to do with the local and particular interests of the rest of New England than with any other State in the Union. The other New England States are ably represented on the floor, and it would be officious and arrogant in me to speak for them. But when the gentleman from Ohio presumes

JAS. G. BLAINE'S WASHINGTON RESIDENCE DURING HIS LAST SICKNESS.

BLIND ASYLUM, PHILADELPHIA, WHERE BLAINE TAUGHT SCHOOL.

to charge here that the State I represent receives from Federal legislation any undue protection to her local interests, he either ignorantly or wilfully misrepresents the case so grossly, that for ten minutes I will occupy the attention of this House in correcting him.



S. S. COX.

Sir, I am tired of such talk as the gentleman from Ohio has indulged in to-day, and in so far as it includes my own State as being a pensioner upon the General Government, or dependent upon the bounty of any other State, I hurl back the charge with scorn. If there be a State in this Union that can say with truth that her Federal connection confers no special benefit of a material character, that State is Maine.

And yet, sir, no State is more attached to the Federal Union than Maine. Her affection and her pride are centred in the Union, and God knows she has contributed of her best blood and treasure without stint in supporting the war for the Union; and she will do so to the end. But she resents, and I, speaking for her, resent the insinuation that she derives

any undue advantage from Federal legislation, or that she gets a single dollar she does not pay back.

This much, sir, I have felt called upon to say in response to the elaborate and carefully prepared speech of the gentleman from Ohio. I have spoken in vindication of a State that is as independent and as proud as any within the limits of the Union. I have spoken for a people as high-toned and as honorable as can be found in the wide world. I have spoken for a particular class—many of them my constituents—who are as manly and as brave as ever faced the ocean's storm. And so long, sir, as I have a seat on this floor, the State of Maine shall not be slandered by the gentleman from Ohio, or by gentlemen from any other State.

J. A. KASSON.

DEFENCE OF NEGRO SOLDIERS.

Blaine advocated the enlistment of the slaves into our armies. Mr. Mallory, of Kentucky, accused the negro troops of cowardice. "My friend from Maine," he said, "who seems to be listening so attentively, lived in Kentucky once, and knows the negro and his at-

tributes, and he knows, if he will tell you what he knows, that they won't fight."

Mr. Blaine made this incisive reply:

From a residence of five years in Kentucky I came to the conclusion from what I saw of the negroes that there was a great deal of fight in them. I have entire faith—and if I had not, I would never vote a dollar of appropriation for these negro troops—that well-trained and disciplined negroes will make good troops. I do not believe they will make as good troops as white men, and I do not value any white man's opinion who does think so. Now I ask the gentleman from Kentucky if he believes that a thousand white men, of the Kentucky race—and I believe that no more gallant race than the Kentuckians ever lived—unarmed and undrilled, would have stood any better be-

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

fore the rebel musketry than the negroes themselves did.

ARDENT SUPPORTER OF LINCOLN.

As might have been expected Mr. Blaine lent all his powerful influence to the support of President Lincoln and his administration. In respect to his relations with the President, Mr. Ward H. Lamon, who was Marshal of the District of Columbia and on terms of special intimacy with Mr. Lincoln, makes the following statement:

"I knew those who were Mr. Lincoln's friends and those who were plotting against him, and I am sure that there was no one among the younger members of Congress on more intimate, cordial and confidential terms with him than Mr. Blaine, nor was there any one more implicitly trusted by Mr. Lincoln. When the movement was made against Mr. Lincoln in the winter preceding the campaign of 1864, Mr. Blaine was the person with whom Mr. Lincoln constantly conferred about Maine, and I was present at a conference between the two when Mr. Lincoln requested Mr. Blaine to proceed to Maine and see if there was any adverse movement there.

"Mr. Lincoln became acquainted with Mr. Blaine in Illinois during his memorable campaign with Douglas in 1858. Mr. Blaine was corresponding from the scene of contest with his paper in Maine, and in one of his letters he predicted that Lincoln would be defeated for Senator by Douglas, but would beat Douglas for President in 1860. This letter was copied

in several Illinois papers, and Mr. Lincoln cut it out and carried it in his small memorandum book until long after he was inaugurated as President. It naturally laid the foundation for cordial friendship between the two."

VIEWS ON THE DRAFT.

The unswerving patriotism of Mr. Blaine was never questioned, and no warmer words in support of the war-policy of the Government were spoken than those which fell from his lips. He admitted the necessity of keeping the army up to the required size, yet he was opposed to the extreme measures advocated by some persons for bringing men into the field. Upon these measures he had this to say:

A conscription is a hard thing at best, Mr. Speaker, but the people of this country are patriotically willing to submit to one in this great crisis for the great cause at stake. There is no necessity, however, for making it absolutely merciless and sweeping. I say, in my judgment, there is no necessity for making it so, even if there were no antecedent questions as to the expediency and practicability of the measure. I believe the law as it stands, allowing commutation and substitution, is sufficiently effective, if judiciously enforced. It will raise a large number of men by its direct operation, and it will secure a very large amount of money with which to pay bounties to volunteers.

I cannot refrain from asking gentlemen around me whether in their judgment the pending measure, if

submitted to the popular vote, would receive the support of even a respectable minority in any district in the loyal States? Just let it be understood that whoever the lot falls on must go, regardless of all business considerations, all private interests, all personal engagements, all family obligations; that the draft is to be sharp, decisive, final and inexorable, without commutation and without substitution, and my word for it you will create consternation in all the loyal States. Such a conscription was never resorted to but once, even in the French Empire under the absolutism of the first Napoleon, and for the Congress of the United States to attempt its enforcement upon their constituents is to ignore the first principles of Republican and Representative Government.

ELOQUENT PLEA FOR THE SOLDIERS.

On an occasion near the close of the war, in a speech on the Enrolment Bill, in February, 1865, he spoke as follows in behalf of the soldiers in the field:

Nothing so discourages and disheartens the brave men at the front as the belief that proper measures are not adopted at home for re-enforcing and sustaining them. Even a lukewarmness or a backwardness in that respect is enough; but when you add to that the suspicion that unfair devices have been resorted to by those charged with filling quotas, you naturally influence the prejudices and passions of our veterans in the field, in a manner calculated to lessen their personal zeal, and weaken the discipline of the army.

After four years of such patriotic and heroic effort for National unity as the world has never witnessed before, we cannot now afford to have the great cause injured, or its fair fame darkened by a single unworthy incident connected with it. The improper practices of individuals cannot disgrace or degrade the Nation; but after these practices are brought to the attention of Congress, we shall assuredly be disgraced and degraded if we fail to apply the requisite remedy when that remedy is in our power. Let us, then, in this hour of triumph to the National arms, do our duty here, our duty to the troops in the field, our duty to our constituents at home, and our duty above all, to our country, whose existence has been in such peril in the past, but whose future of greatness and glory seems now so assured and so radiant.

LOYAL MEN IN SECEDED STATES.

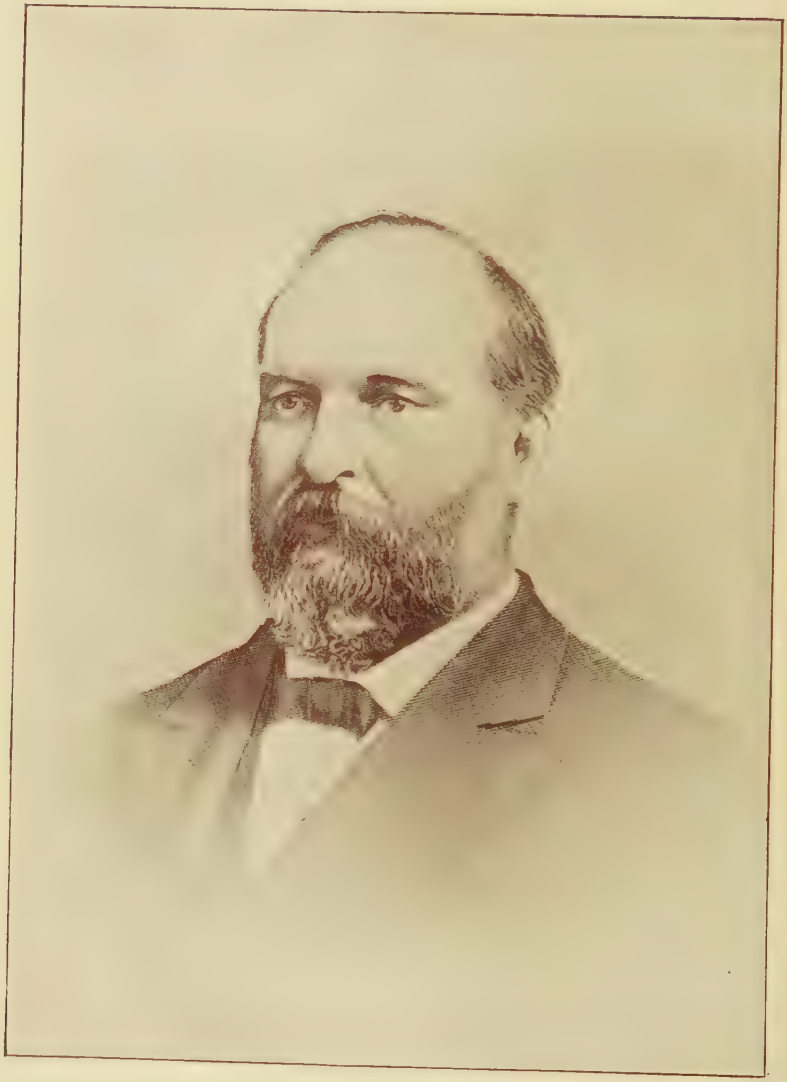
Concerning the duties of the Federal Government toward the loyal citizens in rebellious States, Mr. Blaine said:

Among the most solemn duties of a sovereign government is the protection of those citizens who, under great temptations and amid great perils, maintain their faith and their loyalty. The obligation on the Federal Government to protect the loyalists of the South is supreme, and they must take all needful means to assure that protection. Among the most needful is the gift of free suffrage, and that must be guaranteed.

There is no protection you can extend to a man so

effective and conclusive as the power to protect himself. And in assuring protection to the loyal citizen, you assure permanency to the government, so that the bestowal of suffrage is not merely the discharge of a personal obligation toward those who are enfranchised, but it is the most far-sighted provision against social disorder, the surest guarantee for peace, prosperity and public justice.

U. S. Grant



J. A. Garfield

CHAPTER VI.

Second Term in Congress.

MR. BLAINE'S services in the House of Representatives were able and efficient. Not merely did he draw attention to himself at Washington as the future leader of the great Republican party, but throughout the country his name became familiar and his popularity was assured.

Naturally he was the pride of his own State. "The Man from Maine" was becoming widely known; his strong personality was felt in Congress, and his manly bearing, fairness in debate, and loyalty to the Union, were distinguishing traits of the rising leader. His first term in Congress was the natural antecedent to a second term, and when his district made its nomination in 1864 he was selected as the Republican candidate.

The letter of acceptance he wrote on this occasion is of special interest, and we take pleasure in laying it before the reader:

AUGUSTA, Aug. 20, 1864.

GEN. J. R. BACHELDER:

Dear Sir: I am in receipt of your favor advising me that on the 10th inst., the Union Convention of the Third District unanimously nominated me for re-elec-

tion as Representative in Congress. For this generous action, as well as for the cordial manner attending it, and the very complimentary phrase in which it is conveyed, I am under profound obligations. It is far easier for me to find the inspiring cause of such favor and such unanimity in the personal partiality of friends, than in any merits or services which I may justly claim as my own.

In nominating me as the Union candidate, and pledging me to no other platform, you place me on the precise ground I desire to occupy. The controlling and absorbing issue before the American people is whether the Federal Union shall be saved or lost. In comparison with that, all other issues and controversies are subordinate, and entitled to consideration just in the degree that they may influence the end which Washington declared to be "the primary object of patriotic desire." To maintain the Union a gigantic war has been carried on, now in the fourth year of its duration, and the resources of the country, both in men and money, have been freely expended in support of it. The war was not a matter of choice with the Government, unless it was prepared to surrender its power over one-half of its territory and incur all the hazards of anarchy throughout the other half. It was begun by those who sought to overthrow the Federal authority. It should be ended the very day that authority is recognized and re-established throughout its rightful domain.

The desire for peace after the sufferings and trials of the past three years is natural. Springing from the very instincts of humanity it is irrepressible. The danger to be avoided is that in aiming to attain peace we shall be deceived by the shadow and thus fail to secure the substance. Peace on the basis of disunion

THE CAPITOL AT WASHINGTON, THE SCENE OF BLAINE'S GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS.

is a delusion. It is no peace at all. It is but the beginning of war—more wasteful, more destructive, more cruel than we have thus far experienced. Those who cry for the "immediate cessation of the war" are the best advocates of its endless continuance. They mean peace by the recognition of Rebel Independence, and Rebel Independence is absolutely incompatible with peace.

W. P. FRYE.

Among the cherished errors of those who are willing to acknowledge the Southern Confederacy as the basis of peace, the most fatal is that which assumes the continued union, harmony, and power of the loyal States. This cannot be. Contentions and strifes without number would at once spring up. The border States would be convulsed with a fierce contest as to which section they would adhere to. The Pacific slope, to escape the dangers and constant embroilments which it could neither control nor avoid, would naturally seek for independence; and the Northwest, if it did not follow the example, would demand such a reconstruction of the government of the remaining States, as would make our further connection therewith undesirable, if not absolutely intolerable. In short, disunion upon the line of the revolted States

would involve the total and speedy disintegration of the Federal Government, and we would find ourselves launched on "a sea of troubles," with no pilot capable of holding the helm, and no chart to guide us on our perilous voyage.

There is indeed but one path of safety, and that is likewise the path of honor and of interest. *We must preserve the Union.* Differ as we may as to the measures necessary to that end, there shall be no difference among loyal men as to the end itself. No sacrifice we can make in our efforts to save the Union is comparable with that we should all make in losing it. He is the enemy to both sections and to the common cause of humanity and civilization, who is willing to conclude the war by surrendering the Union; and the most alarming development of the times is the disposition manifested by leading journals, by public men, and by political conventions in the loyal States to accept this conclusion. For myself, in the limited sphere of my influence I shall never consent to such a delusive settlement of our troubles. Neither at the polls as an American citizen, nor in Congress as a Representative (should I again be chosen), will I ever give a vote admitting even the possibility of ultimate failure in this great struggle for Nationality.

Very respectfully your obd't servant,

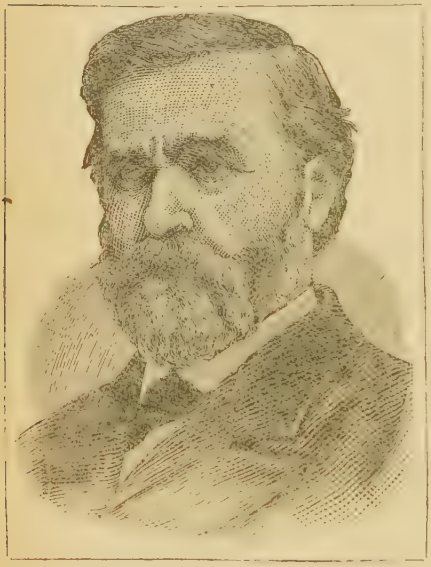
J. G. BLAINE.

AGAIN IN WASHINGTON.

To nominate Mr. Blaine for any office in Maine was equivalent to electing him. The will of the people was that he should serve a second term in Congress, and should continue to take a prominent part in National legislation. During his first term he had

been a member of the Committee on Military Affairs, which was second in importance to no other committee at this time. Upon his re-election as representative he resumed his position on this committee, and was also appointed on the Committee on War Debts of Loyal States.

In both these positions Mr. Blaine was active. He took the ground that the loyal States ought to be reimbursed by the Government for their war expenses, and brought forward a proposition to that effect. Never half-hearted in anything he undertook, he was very earnest and persistent in his advocacy of this measure, summoning all his eloquence, resources, and great qualities of leadership in carrying it to a successful issue. In fact, his achievement was so brilliant that from this time he was regarded as the foremost leader of his party. Such a courageous, wise, dashing, magnetic man was needed to bring together and hold in invincible unity the various elements of the great Union party, and lead it to victories in the



WILLIAM R. MORRISON.

Nation's capitol as magnificent as it had achieved on the field of battle.

A MEMORABLE SPEECH.

The measure for reimbursing the loyal States for their war expenses was advocated by Mr. Blaine in a masterly and convincing speech. The proposition came up in a Committee of the Whole House on April 12, 1864, on a special order to reimburse the State of Pennsylvania for its expenses in calling out the militia during the invasion of that State by the Confederate armies. Mr. Blaine moved to substitute for the bill introduced by Mr. Stevens, of Pennsylvania, a bill to reimburse all the loyal States for the charges they had incurred.

He had in the preceding January called the attention of the House to this subject by submitting a resolution, and now he desired the action of the House on the bill proposed. There had been, he urged, a legitimate expenditure in all the States for the purpose of suppressing the rebellion; these expenditures were necessary and made in good faith for the defence and preservation of the national life, and should be refunded by the National Government. Such reimbursement was just and expedient, and ought to come from the National Treasury. In the course of his remarks Mr. Blaine said:

If the twenty-four loyal States, now striving, with patriotic rivalry, to outdo each other in defending and rescuing the nation from its perils, were hereafter to constitute the entire Union, there might be nothing

gained and nothing lost to any one of them, by consolidating their respective war debts into one common charge upon the aggregate resources of the nation. Under such circumstances each State would be freed from an individual tax only to incur a burden of similar magnitude in meeting its component part of the total national debt.

THE UNION SURE TO BE RESTORED.

But the actual case, presented for our consideration and decision, is far different from this. We are engaged in a struggle which must inevitably result in restoring to loyalty, and to duty, eleven States now in rebellion against the authority of the National Government. And beyond that, as a consequence of a restored Union, and of the boundless prosperity which awaits the auspicious event, our vast Western domain will be peopled with a rapidity exceeding all precedent, and States without number almost will spring into existence, to add to the strength and insure the perpetuity of our Government.

Well-considered estimates based on past progress, and the established ratio of our advance in wealth and population, assure us that within less than a century from this time we shall have added forty new States to our Union, making, with the number now composing it, a grand total of seventy-five prosperous Commonwealths. Were it not for the blood so freely poured out, and the treasure so lavishly expended by the twenty-four loyal States represented on this floor, the eleven States now in revolt would not be saved

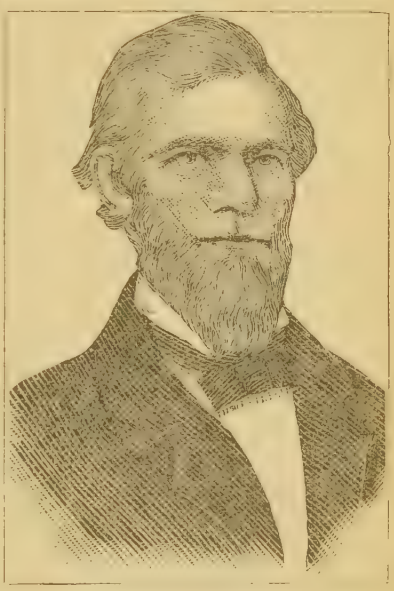
ROSCOE CONKLING.

GEORGE S. BOUTWELL

from self-destruction, and the forty States so speedily to grow up in the Mississippi valley and on the Pacific slope would never come into existence.

WHERE THE BURDEN FALLS.

Of the immense national debt which we are incurring in this struggle, each State will, of course, have to bear a share; but it is quite manifest that for two generations to come, owing to our established system of taxation, the present loyal States will have to endure vastly the larger proportion of the total burden. Is it fair or just, that in addition to this they shall each be called upon to bear, unaided, a large local debt, necessarily, and yet generously, incurred in aid of the one common object of preserving the life of the whole nation?



W. L. HOLMAN.

The question which I present, therefore, is not one for dispute or difference between any of the States here represented, for they all have a common interest in adopting the proposed measure. The financial issue is rather between the twenty-four loyal States, on the one hand, and the eleven revolted States together

with all future new States on the other. We have it in our power to-day to determine the matter upon principles of the highest equity, and at the same time for the interest of the loyal States, who are bearing the heat and burden of the great contest.

The war closing in July, 1865, will leave us in this condition: a nation numbering some thirty-three millions of people, owning over sixteen thousand millions of property, and carrying a debt of twenty-five hundred millions of dollars. The proportion between debt and property will be just about the same that it was when the Union was formed, while the ratio of our advance and the largely enhanced productiveness of agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial pursuits, gives the present generation an advantage that renders the debt far less burdensome at the very outset.

DEBT INCURRED BY THE REVOLUTION.

And if the revolutionary debt became in a very brief period so light as to be unnoticed, why may we not, with a vastly accelerated ratio of progress, assume a similar auspicious result with regard to the debt we are now contracting? Were our future advance in wealth and population to be no more rapid than Great Britain's has been since 1815, we should at the close of the present century have a population of forty-five million souls, and a property amounting to fifty thousand millions of dollars. Even upon this ratio of progress our entire debt would cease to be felt as a burden. But upon the increase of population and devel-

opment of wealth to be so assuredly anticipated, the debt would be so small, in comparison with the total resources of the nation, as to become absolutely inconsiderable.

To those who may be disposed to doubt the future progress of our country according to the ratio assumed, a few familiar considerations in respect to our resources may be recalled with advantage. We occupy a territory at least three million square miles in extent; within a fraction as large as the whole of Europe. Our habitable and cultivable area is indeed larger than that of all Europe, to say nothing of the superior fertility and general productiveness of our soil.

So vast is our extent that though we may glibly repeat its numerical measure, we find it most difficult to form any just conception of it. The State of Texas alone is equal in area to the empire of France and the kingdom of Portugal united; and yet these two monarchies support a population of forty millions, while Texas has but six hundred thousand inhabitants.

OUR GREAT STATES.

Or, if we wish for a comparative measure nearer home, let me state that the area of Texas is greater than that of the six New England States, together with New York and New Jersey and Pennsylvania and Ohio and Indiana all combined. California, the second State in size, is equal in extent to the kingdom of Spain and the kingdom of Belgium together. Spain and Belgium have twenty millions of people, while

California has not half a million. And we might pursue this species of comparison almost indefinitely, clearly showing that in capacity and assured destiny our individual States, if peaceful and united, are to

CHARLES SUMNER.

become as wealthy, as populous, and as powerful as the separate great nations of Europe.

Mere territorial extent does not, of course, imply future greatness, though it is one great requisite to it. And in our case it is so vast an element that we may be pardoned for dwelling on it with emphasis and

iteration. The land that is still in the hands of our Government, not sold nor even pre-empted, amounts to a thousand millions of acres—an extent of territory thirteen times as large as Great Britain, and equal in area to all the kingdoms of Europe, with Russia and Turkey alone excepted.

THE NATION'S WEALTH.

Combined with this almost limitless expanse of territory we have facilities for the acquisition and consolidation of wealth—varied, magnificent, and immeasurable. Our agricultural resources, bounteous and boundless by nature, are, by the application of mechanical skill and labor-saving machinery, receiving a development each decade, which a century in the past would have failed to secure, and which a century in the future will place beyond all present power of computation—giving us so far the lead in the production of those staple articles essential to life and civilization that we become the arbiter of the world's destiny without aiming at the world's empire.

The single State of Illinois, cultivated to its capacity, can produce as large a crop of cereals as has ever been grown within the limits of the United States; while Texas, if peopled but half as densely as Maryland even, could give an annual return of cotton larger than the largest that has ever been grown in all the cotton States together. Our facilities for commerce and exchange, both domestic and foreign—who shall measure them? Our oceans, our vast inland seas, our marvelous and unlimited flow of navigable streams,

our canals, our network of railroads more than thirty thousand miles in extent, greater than the railroads of all Europe and all the world besides—*these* give us avenues of trade and channels of communication, both natural and artificial, such as no other nation has ever enjoyed, and which tend to the production of wealth with a rapidity not to be measured by any standard of the past.

The enormous field for manufacturing industry in all its complex and endless variety—with our raw material, our wonderful motive-power both by water and steam, our healthful climate, our cheap carriage, our home consumption, our foreign demand—foreshadows a traffic whose magnitude and whose profit will in no long period surpass the gigantic industrial system of Great Britain, where to-day the cunning hands of ten million artisans accomplish, with mechanical aid, the work of six hundred millions of men!

OUR IMMENSE RESOURCES.

Our mines of gold and silver and iron and copper and lead and coal, with their untold and unimaginable wealth, spread over millions of acres of territory, in the valley, on the mountain-side, along rivers, yielding already a rich harvest, are destined yet to increase a thousand-fold, until their every-day treasures,

> "familiar grown,
> Shall realize Orient's fabled wealth."

These are the great elements of material progress; and they comprehend the entire circle of human enterprise—agriculture, commerce, manufactures, mining,

They assure to us a growth in property and population that will surpass the most sanguine deductions of our census tables, framed as those tables are upon the ratios and relations of our progress in the past. They give into our hands, under the blessing of Almighty God, the power to command our fate as a Nation. They hold out to us the grandest future reserved for any people; and with this promise they teach us the lesson of patience, and make confidence and fortitude a duty. With such amplitude and affluence of resources, and with such a vast stake at issue, we should be unworthy of our lineage and our inheritance if we for one moment distrusted our ability to maintain ourselves a united people, with "one country, one constitution, one destiny."

GRAPPLING WITH HARD PROBLEMS.

The foregoing tribute to the loyal States is as just as it is eloquent. It reveals the masterly thought of the statesman and the wisdom of the financier. It ranks among the great deliverances on the floor of Congress and is worthy of Henry Clay in his palmiest days.

Mr. Blaine discussed in the same able manner other questions which came before Congress. He had evidently made a study of each, and his speeches, instead of being so much wind and tongue, threw light on the subjects he handled. He had some other end in view than to draw the attention of his constituents to the fact that he was making harangues in Congress, and therefore they were to conclude that they were ably

represented. He did not speak for effect; he was not constantly shouting "Mr. Speaker," in order to figure in newspaper reports. To him the floor of Congress was not a place for empty speech-making, but a tribunal where the questions profoundly agitating the Nation were to be tried and settled according to enlightened statesmanship, and in keeping with the gravity of the interests at stake.

PROPOSITION TO TAX EXPORTS.

Looking to the sources whence the nation could derive the immense revenue needed for its war-debt, Mr. Blaine proposed to levy a tax on exports. This was something new, and coming from any ordinary man would have been considered audacious, if not absurd. He threw around it such charms of eloquence, gave such cogent reasons for its adoption, and was so powerful in sustaining his novel views that his measure attracted universal attention, and was discussed throughout the country.

Mr. Blaine urged that such a tax was now needed "for the maintenance of our National credit," and in the conclusion of his speech followed Mr. Madison's argument, who demanded export duties for the "purpose of encouraging domestic manufacturers and procuring equitable treaties of commerce with foreign nations." He spoke next of the subjects liable to such taxation:

The general and obvious distinction is to tax such and such only as have no competing product in foreign marts, or at all events such weak competition as will

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, D. C.

UNITED STATES SENATE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

give us the command of the market after the commodity has paid its export dues in this country.

EXPORTS OF COTTON.

As an illustration, take cotton, which is our leading export in time of peace. It is believed with confidence that the American product can pay an export tax of five cents per pound, and yet with ease maintain its pre-eminence in the markets of England and the European continent. Our export in a single year has reached three million two hundred thousand bales of five hundred pounds each, and it would rapidly run beyond that figure after peace is restored and the competition of free labor is applied to its production. But if it should never go beyond the quantity named, an export tax of five cents per pound would yield a revenue of *eighty million dollars* from this single article, as any one will see by a moment's calculation.

THOS. A. HENDRICKS.

Tobacco and naval stores also afford a large margin for an export tax, owing to the superior quality and quantity of the American production of each article.

THE LUXURY OF TOBACCO.

In the case of tobacco, might we not, at all events, share with foreign nations the advantage of the enormous tax which this article of luxury will bear, making them pay a moiety into our coffers instead of monopolizing it all for their own? Should petroleum continue to be developed in such immense quantities, without being found elsewhere, it, too, will in due time bear a very considerable export tax, as, indeed, will all articles (without attempting their specific enumeration) whose production is peculiar to this country, or whose quality may be greatly superior to products of similar kind in other countries, or, in the comprehensive phrase of Mr. Madison, "articles in which America is not rivaled in foreign markets."

The fear that has often been expressed, that the Congressional power to tax exports might be used to oppress certain sections, and to discriminate against particular commodities, is manifestly groundless. It is always safe to trust to self-interest in a nation as well as in an individual. The highest National interest in the matter we are discussing is to encourage exports in every honorable and practicable way; and the moment that an export tax should tend to check or decrease exportation, that moment it would be abolished or reduced.

Of course, there must be exportation before revenue can be derived from an export tax, and hence I repeat that the interest which underlies the whole design affords the most absolute guaranty against any op-

pressive attempt to discriminate against any section or any particular commodity.

EXPENSE OF COLLECTION.

Not the least advantage, Mr. Speaker, in this mode of collecting the tax, is the cheapness with which it can be done. The points of shipment of cotton are so few that you may count them on your fingers; and the tendency, owing to the converging of water-courses and railroad lines, is against any increase in the number of these ports. The same officers of customs, that are already there, to collect your tariff duties, can perform the labor of collecting the export duties, without a dollar's additional expense, beyond the salaries of clerks that the increase of business might demand.

Compare with this the vast expense of sending an army of excisemen throughout all the cotton and tobacco plantations, and you will find that the system of export duties would effect a saving of millions to the Government, simply in the mode of collection. And, sir, you could invent no more offensive system of taxation than would be involved in sending your Government agents to every rural home in the planting regions, to interrogate the farmer as to the number of bales in his cotton crop, or how many pounds of tobacco he had raised. The officials, who should perambulate the country on such errands, would acquire, in popular opinion, as bad a reputation as Dr. Johnson, in his Dictionary, fastened on the English exciseman, "an odious wretch, employed to collect an unjust tax."

CHAPTER VII.

Third Term in Congress.

Mr. Blaine was in Congress to remain. He would have been compelled to fight his way out if he had wished to retire. Having become the most commanding figure in the council of the Nation, he was expected to remain and continue his career. He was by this time a thoroughly qualified legislator; his value to his party and the country was gratefully recognized; in every position assigned him he had proved his conspicuous ability and efficient service, and his renomination in 1868 came as a matter of course. It was felt, not merely by the people of the district he represented, but by his party throughout the country, that he was needed at Washington, and his retirement from office would be a public calamity.

The question of the hour related to the national currency. Mr. Blaine had long studied this perplexing subject, and was outspoken in the expression of his views. He believed in an "honest dollar." Thaddeus Stevens, of Pennsylvania, introduced his celebrated Gold Bill, and Mr. Blaine moved to lay it on the table. In doing so he gave one of his inimitable thrusts which stabbed the Greenback fallacy to the

quick. "The bill," he said, "aims at what is impossible. You cannot make a gold dollar worth less than it is, or a paper dollar worth more than it is, by a Congressional declaration."

He also made a powerful speech in favor of an "honest dollar," which was one of the most important contributions made in Congress to the discussion of the vexed question upon which there was a great variety of opinion. He resolutely opposed the views expressed by G. H. Pendleton, of Ohio, and Benjamin F. Butler, of Massachusetts.

SPEECH ON THE CURRENCY.

The position of these gentlemen I understand to be simply this: That the principal of the United States bonds, known as the Five-twenties, may be fairly and legally paid in paper currency by the Government after the expiration of five years from the date of issue.

A brief review of the origin of the Five-twenty bonds will demonstrate, I think, that this position is in contravention of the honor and good faith of the National Government; that it is hostile to the spirit and the letter of the law; that it contemptuously ignores the common understanding between borrower and lender at the time the loan was negotiated; and that finally, even if such mode of payment were honorable and practicable, it would prove disastrous to the financial interests of the Government and the general prosperity of the country.

Now, Mr. Speaker, suppose, for the sake of argument, we admit that the Government may fairly and

legally pay the Five-twenty bonds in paper currency, what then? I ask the gentleman from Massachusetts to tell us, what then? It is easy, I know, to issue as many greenbacks as will pay the maturing bonds, regardless of the effect upon the inflation of prices, and the general derangement of business. Five hundred millions of the Five-twenties are now payable, and according to the easy mode suggested, all we have to do is to set the printing-presses in motion, and "so long as rags and lampblack hold out" we need have no embarrassment about paying our National Debt.

ABSURD INFLATION.

But the ugly question recurs, what are you going to do with the greenbacks thus put afloat? Five hundred millions this year, and eleven hundred millions more on this theory of payment by the year 1872; so that within the period of four or five years we would only have added to our paper money the trifling inflation of sixteen hundred millions of dollars. We should all have splendid times doubtless! Wheat, under the new dispensation, ought to bring twenty dollars a bushel, and boots would not be worth more than two hundred dollars a pair, and the farmers of our country would be as well off as Santa Anna's rabble of Mexican soldiers, who were allowed ten dollars a day for their services and charged eleven for their rations and clothing.

The sixteen hundred millions of greenbacks added to the amount already issued, would give us some twenty-three hundred millions of paper money, and I

suppose the theory of the new doctrine would leave this mass permanently in circulation, for it would hardly be consistent to advocate the redemption of the greenbacks in gold after having repudiated and foresworn our obligation on the bonds.

But if it be intended to redeem the legal tenders in gold, what will have been the net gain to the Government in the whole transaction? If any gentleman will tell me, I shall be glad to learn how it would be easier to pay sixteen hundred millions in gold in the redemption of greenbacks, than to pay the same amount in the redemption of Five-twenty bonds? The policy advocated, it seems to me, has only two alternatives—the one to ruinously inflate the currency and leave it so, reckless of results; the other to ruinously inflate the currency at the outset, only to render redemption in gold far more burdensome in the end.

BENJAMIN F. BUTLER.

THE TRUE REMEDY.

The remedy for our financial troubles, Mr. Speaker, will not be found in a superabundance of depreciated paper currency. It lies in the opposite direction—

and the sooner the nation finds itself on a specie basis, the sooner will the public treasury be freed from embarrassment, and private business relieved from discouragement. Instead, therefore, of entering upon a reckless and boundless issue of legal tenders, with their consequent depression if not destruction of value, let us set resolutely to work and make those already in circulation equal to as many gold dollars.

Discarding all such schemes so at once unworthy and unprofitable, let us direct our policy steadily, but not rashly, towards the resumption of specie payment, and when we have attained that end—easily attainable at no distant day if the proper policy be pursued—we can all unite on some honorable plan for the redemption of the Five-twenty bonds, and the issuing instead thereof a new series of bonds which can be more favorably placed at a lower rate of interest. When we shall have reached the specie basis, the value of United States securities will be so high in the money market of the world, that we can command our own terms.

HONEST MONEY FOR AN HONEST DEBT.

We can then call in our Five-twenties according to the very letter and spirit of the bond, and adjust a new loan that will be eagerly sought for by capitalists, and will be free from those elements of discontent that in some measure surround the existing funded debt of the country.

And this, Mr. Speaker, we shall do. Our National

WM. B. ALLISON.

EUGENE HALE

honor demands it; our National interest equally demands it. We have vindicated our claim to the highest heroism on a hundred bloody battle-fields, and have stopped at no sacrifice of life needful to the maintenance of our National integrity. I am sure that in the peace which our arms have conquered, we shall not dishonor ourselves by withholding from any public creditor a dollar that we promised to pay him, nor seek by cunning construction and clever afterthought, to evade or escape the full responsibility of our National indebtedness. It will doubtless cost us a vast sum to pay that indebtedness—but it would cost us incalculably more not to pay it.

A MAN OF MANY AFFAIRS.

Such were Mr. Blaine's views upon the currency. The majority of his countrymen received them as just and sound; the average common sense approved them. A man who cannot talk common sense had better not talk at all; Mr. Blaine demonstrated his right to talk by talking sense.

He was extremely active during this term in Congress. He had already proved his efficiency as a good committee-man, and many committees wanted him. He was the leading spirit in the House, and in all the multifarious affairs of legislation his advice was sought and his co-operation was heartily welcomed. From the appointment of a restaurant-keeper for the Capitol up to the drafting of a foreign treaty his voice was heard; he seemed to combine a good part of Congress in his own person.

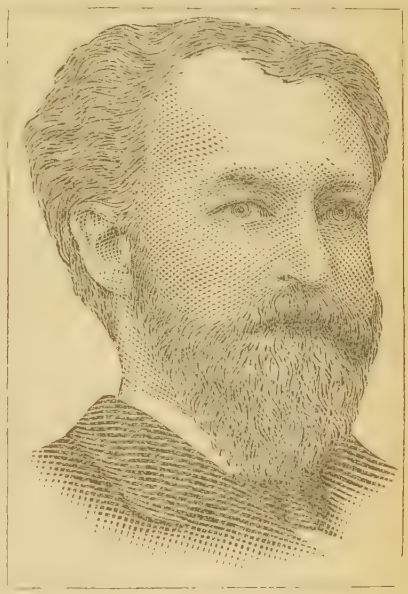
One of the subjects much debated at this time was the basis of representation in Congress. It was maintained by some persons that the basis should be the number of voters; others argued that the only correct basis is the number of population. Mr. Blaine held to the latter view, and was opposed by so powerful a leader and parliamentarian as Roscoe Conkling. Blaine described Conkling as "presenting the spectacle of the waterman in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, who got his living by rowing in one direction while looking in another." He then proceeded with his speech as follows:

BASIS OF REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS.

Since the beginning of the present session, Mr. Chairman, we have had several propositions to amend the Federal Constitution with respect to the basis of representation in Congress. These propositions have differed somewhat in phrase, but they all embrace substantially the one idea of making suffrage instead of population the basis of apportioning Representatives; or, in other words, to give the States in future a representation proportioned to their voters instead of their inhabitants.

The effect contemplated and intended by this change is perfectly well understood, and on all hands frankly avowed. It is to deprive the lately rebellious States of the unfair advantage of a large representation in this House, based on their colored population, so long as that population shall be denied political rights by the legislation of those States. The proposed consti-

tutional amendment would simply say to those States, while you refuse to enfranchise your black population, you shall have no representation based on their numbers; but admit them to civil and political rights, and they shall at once be counted to your advantage in the apportionment of Representatives.



ROSCOE CONKLING.

The direct object thus aimed at, as it respects the rebellious States, has been so generally approved that little thought seems to have been given to the incidental evils which the proposed constitutional amendment would inflict on a large portion of the loyal States—evils, in my judgment, so serious and alarming as to lead me to oppose the amendment in any form in which it has yet been presented.

NON-VOTERS TO BE CONSIDERED.

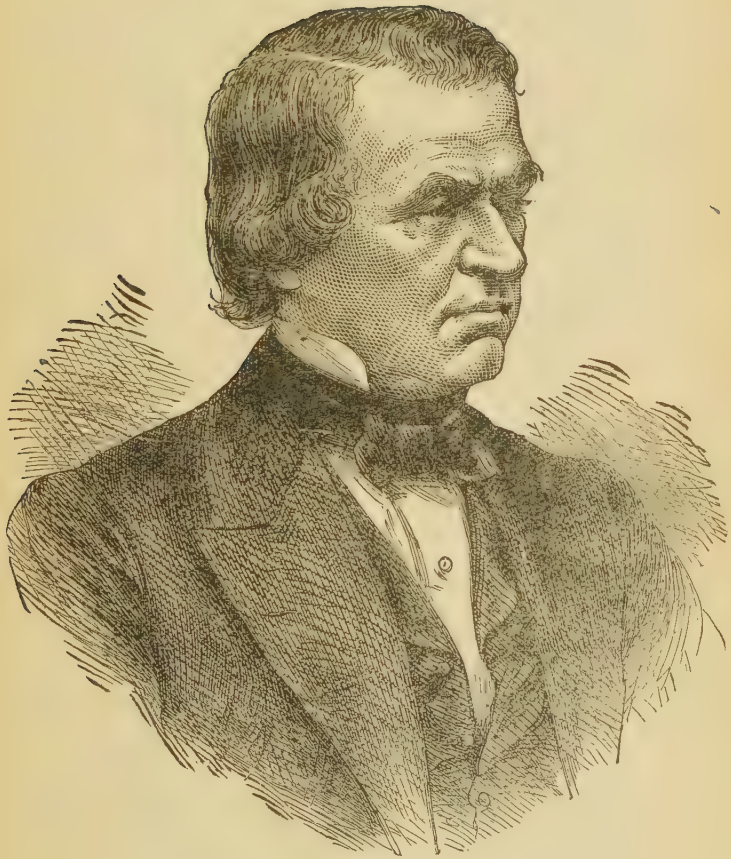
As an abstract proposition, no one will deny that population is the true basis of representation; for women, children, and other non-voting classes may have as vital an interest in the legislation of the country as those who actually deposit the ballot. In-

deed, the very amendment we are discussing implies that population is the true basis, inasmuch as the exclusion of the black people of the South from political rights has suggested this indirectly coercive mode of securing them those rights. Were the negroes to be enfranchised throughout the South to-day, no one would insist on the adoption of this amendment; and yet if the amendment shall be incorporated in the Federal Constitution, its incidental evils will abide in the loyal States long after the direct evil which it aims to cure may have been eradicated in the Southern States.

Basing representation on voters, unless Congress should be empowered to define their qualification, would tend to cheapen suffrage everywhere. There would be an unseemly scramble in all the States during each decade, to increase, by every means, the number of voters, and all conservative restrictions, such as the requirement of reading and writing, now enforced in some of the States, would be stricken down in a rash and reckless effort to procure an enlarged representation in the National councils. Foreigners would be invited to vote on a mere preliminary "declaration of intention."

REVIVAL OF AMERICAN COMMERCE.

It has long been a puzzle to many reflecting persons that a country like ours should have no distinctively American commerce. Other countries are mistresses of the seas. Mr. Blaine had some plain words to speak on this subject. He denounced the granting



ANDREW JOHNSON.

of new American registers to ships transferred to foreign owners during the war, and upon the subject of ship-building said:

One word more, Mr. Speaker. The whole tone of the speeches we have had from both the gentlemen from Ohio (Mr. Spaulding and Mr. Garfield) was for free trade. They urge that we shall buy our ships wherever we can get them cheapest, and that all restrictions as to registry should be abolished. Well, sir, if we are prepared to reduce this free trade theory to practice, why not have it in everything? There is no branch of American industry that is, to-day, so little protected and so much oppressed by our revenue laws as ship-building. It is taxed at all points, and nearly taxed to death; and I submit to these new advocates of free trade that it would be better to begin with some interest that is essentially protected by our laws to-day.

If we are going to have free trade, let us have it equally and impartially applied to all the industrial interests of the land; but for myself, I am opposed to it altogether. In theory and in practice I am for protecting American industry in all its forms, and to this end we must encourage American manufactures, and we must equally encourage American commerce.

AN HONORABLE CAREER.

It would be impossible within the limits of a single volume to detail all the varied and eminent services rendered by Mr. Blaine in Congress. He stood in the eye of the Nation. His course was marked by wise

measures, patriotic impulses, commanding oratory and far-sighted statesmanship. One had arisen who was a worthy successor of the Nation's most illustrious sons; he was looked upon as a great leader, a sturdy defender of all rightful legislation, and a benefactor of his country by the measures he advocated in the interest of all her citizens.

When he received his nomination in 1866, an influential Democratic journal thus expressed its satisfaction in view of his prospective election: "As a ready and forcible debater, a clear reasoner, a sound legislator, fearless advocate, and true supporter of the principles and organization of the party of Union and Right, he has made a mark in the annals of Congress of which he and those who elected him may be proud."

CHAPTER VIII.

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Mr. Blaine was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives on March 4, 1869. He was elevated to this position for the reason that no other member of the House was so well qualified to preside over its deliberations. Even when in college, as we have seen, he was a skilled parliamentarian, and at that time was able to guide a deliberative body through all the intricacies of motions, counter motions, amendments, votes and decisions. He was even then, without knowing it, securing the training which afterward was to give him efficiency and distinction in the Speaker's chair at Washington.

His career in Congress naturally marked him out for the highest distinction. His ability, firmness and self-possession, had been proved many times, and it was universally conceded that he would grace the chair which had been occupied with pre-eminent ability by Clay, Banks, and other great leaders, and would add lustre and dignity to the high position. Looking back now at his Speakership, it may safely be said that history will assign him the most distinguished place among the presiding officers of the House of

James G. Blaine

BLAINE'S RESIDENCE AT BAR HARBOR, MAINE.

Representatives, and he will be remembered as Speaker Blaine, a title that will distinguish him more than any other he ever bore.

Having received the nomination for Speaker in the Republican caucus, he was elected by one hundred and twenty-five votes against fifty-seven for the Democratic candidate, Hon. Michael C. Kerr, of Indiana. Mr. Kerr was an able, popular and active Representative, and in the changes of party precedent and power became at length one of Mr. Blaine's successors.

SPEECH ON TAKING THE CHAIR.

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES: I thank you profoundly for the great honor which you have just conferred upon me. The gratification which this signal mark of your confidence brings to me finds its only drawback in the diffidence with which I assume the weighty duties devolved upon me. Succeeding to a chair made illustrious by the services of such eminent statesmen and skilled parliamentarians as Clay, and Stevenson, and Polk, and Winthrop, and Banks, and Grow, and Colfax, I may well distrust my ability to meet the just expectations of those who have shown me such marked partiality. But relying, gentlemen, on my honest purpose to perform all my duties faithfully and fearlessly, and trusting in a large measure to the indulgence which I am sure you will always extend to me, I shall hope to retain, as I have secured your confidence, your kindly regard and your generous support.

The Forty-first Congress assembles at an auspicious

period in the history of our Government. The splendid and impressive ceremonial which we have just witnessed in another part of the Capitol appropriately

ULYSSES S. GRANT.

symbolizes the triumphs of the past and the hopes of the future.

TRIBUTE TO GENERAL GRANT.

A great chieftain, whose sword at the head of gallant and victorious armies saved the Republic from dismemberment and ruin, has been fitly called to the highest civic honor which a grateful people can be-

stow. Sustained by a Congress that so ably represents the loyalty, the patriotism, and the personal worth of the nation, the President this day inaugurated will assure to the country an administration of purity, fidelity, and prosperity; an era of liberty regulated by law, and of law thoroughly inspired with liberty.

Congratulating you, gentlemen, upon the happy auguries of the day, and invoking the gracious blessing of Almighty God on the arduous and responsible labors before you, I am now ready to take the oath of office and enter upon the discharge of the duties to which you have called me.

TAKING THE OATH.

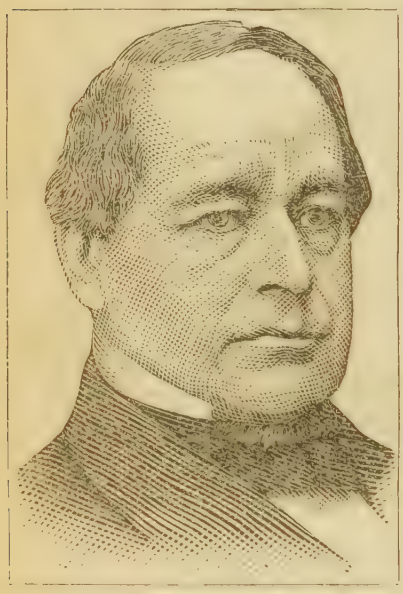
The Hon. Elihu B. Washburne, of Illinois, senior member of the House, then administered the oath of office.

Mr. Blaine proved at once his fitness for the Speakership. He could not be entangled in the meshes of parliamentary tactics; his coolness was conspicuous on all occasions; his impartiality was evident; his quick decisions stood the test of parliamentary law. In the wild storm of debate his calm demeanor and guiding hand were felt. One word from him would cut the tangle that a moment before appeared to be hopeless. He was impatient of delays, and expedited business by his prompt and ready rulings.

"His quickness," wrote a well-informed Washington correspondent, "his thorough knowledge of parliamentary law and of the rules, his firmness, clear voice,

and impressive manner, his ready comprehension of subjects and situations, and his dash and brilliancy have been widely recognized, and really made him a great presiding officer." He was soon celebrated for his dispatch of business.

He was described as adverse to red tape, and having an admirable faculty for cutting corners and knocking away obstructions so that the House could go by the most direct way to the end it was seeking.



HANNIBAL HAMLIN.

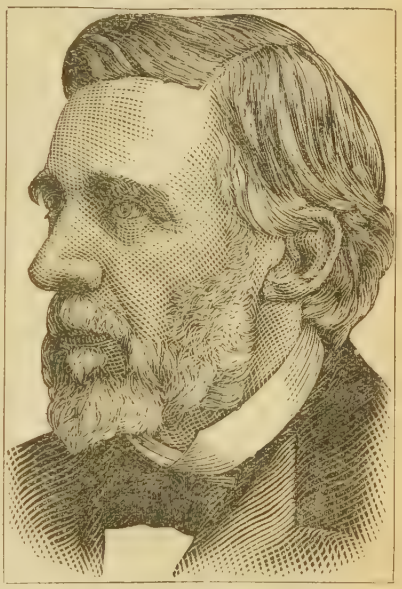
No man since Clay presided with such an absolute knowledge of the rules of the House and with so great a mastery in the rapid, intelligent, and faithful discharge of business. His knowledge of parliamentary law was instinctive and complete, and his administration of it so fair that both sides of the House united at the close of each Congress in cordial thanks for his impartiality.

VOTE OF THANKS.

On the 3d of March, 1871, Blaine's first term as Speaker came to an end. Mr. S. S. Cox, of New

York, his old opponent, a consistent and courageous Democrat, moved a resolution of thanks to Mr. Blaine for his conduct in the Chair. It was in the following terms:

RESOLVED, In view of the difficulties involved in the performance of the duties of the presiding officer of this House, and of the able, courteous, dignified, and impartial discharge of those duties by Hon. J. G. Blaine during the present Congress, it is eminently becoming that our thanks be and they are hereby tendered to the Speaker thereof.



GEORGE S. BOUTWELL.

The resolution was agreed to unanimously, and the retiring Speaker, in adjourning the House at noon, pronounced the valedictory of the Forty-first Congress:

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES: Our labors are at an end; but I delay the final adjournment long enough to return my most profound and respectful thanks for the commendation which you have been pleased to bestow upon my official course and conduct.

GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

In a deliberative body of this character a presiding officer is fortunate if he retains the confidence and steady support of his political associates. Beyond that you give me the assurance that I have earned the respect and good-will of those from whom I am separated by party lines. Your expressions are most grateful to me, and are most gratefully acknowledged.

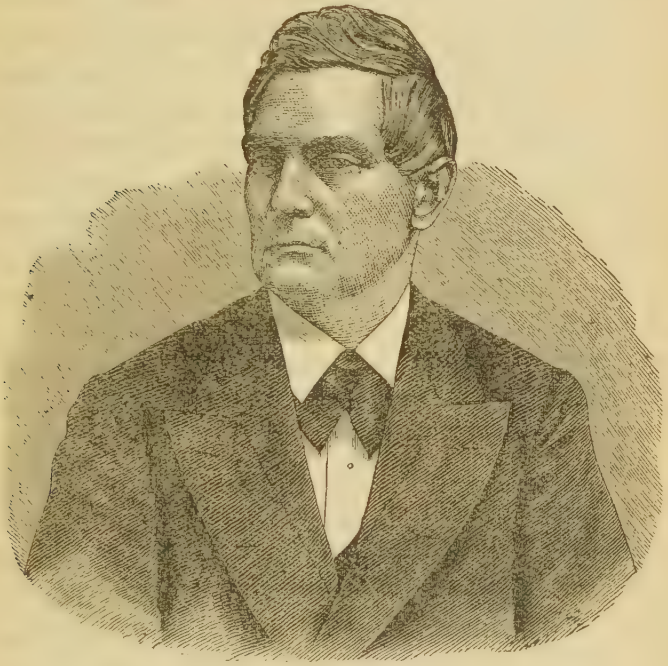
The Congress whose existence closes with this hour enjoys a memorable distinction. It is the first in which all the States have been represented on this floor since the baleful winter that preceded our late bloody war. Ten years have passed since then—years of trial and of triumph; years of wild destruction and years of careful rebuilding; and after all, and as the result of all, the National Government is here to-day, united, strong, proud, defiant, and just, with a territorial area vastly expanded, and with three additional States represented on the folds of its flag. For these prosperous fruits of our great struggle let us humbly give thanks to the God of battles and to the Prince of Peace.

And now, gentlemen, with one more expression of the obligation I feel for the considerate kindness with which you have always sustained me, I perform the only remaining duty of my office, in declaring, as I now do, that the House of Representatives of the Forty-first Congress is adjourned without day.

RE-ELECTED SPEAKER.

The Forty-second Congress met on the following

day. It was a foregone conclusion that the popular Speaker of the House would be honored again by his associates. He received 126 votes, and the opposing



WILLIAM A. WHEELER.

candidate, G. W. Morgan, of Ohio, received 92 votes. Mr. Blaine spoke as follows:

GENTLEMEN: The Speakership of the American House of Representatives has always been esteemed as an enviable honor. A re-election to the position carries with it peculiar gratification, in that it implies an approval of past official bearing. For this great

mark of your confidence I can but return to you my sincerest thanks, with the assurance of my utmost devotion to the duties which you call upon me to discharge.

Chosen by the party representing the political majority in this House, the Speaker owes a faithful allegiance to the principles and the policy of that party. But he will fall far below the honorable requirements of his station if he fails to give to the minority their full rights under the rules which he is called upon to administer. The successful working of our grand system of government depends largely upon the vigilance of party organizations, and the most wholesome legislation which this House produces and perfects is that which results from opposing forces mutually eager, watchful and well-nigh balanced in numbers.

A PROSPEROUS LAND.

The Forty-second Congress assembles at a period of general content, happiness, and prosperity throughout the land. Under the wise administration of the National Government, peace reigns in all our borders, and the only serious misunderstanding with any foreign power is, we may hope, at this moment in process of honorable, cordial, and lasting adjustment. We are fortunate in meeting at such a time, in representing such constituencies, in legislating for such a country.

Trusting, gentlemen, that our official intercourse may be free from all personal asperity, believing that all our labors will eventuate for the public good, and craving the blessing of Him without whose aid we

WILLIAM R. MORRISON.

Grover Cleveland

labor in vain, I am now ready to proceed with the further organization of the House; and, as the first step thereto, I will myself take the oath prescribed by the Constitution and laws.

"ABLE, PROMPT AND IMPARTIAL."

Mr. Dawes, of Massachusetts, who had served the longest continuously in the House, then administered the oath.

Again, at the close of the second session of the Forty-second Congress, a vote of thanks was moved by Mr. Samuel J. Randall, of his native State of Pennsylvania, "for the able, prompt, and impartial manner in which he has discharged the duties of his office," during the second session, and on the final dissolution on the 3d of March, 1873, Mr. Dan. Voorhees, of Indiana, addressing the temporary chairman, Mr. W. A. Wheeler, of New York, said:

I rise to present a matter to the House in which I am sure every member will concur. In doing so I perform the most pleasant duty of my entire service on this floor. I offer the following resolution. It has the sincere sanction of my head and of my heart. I move its adoption.

Then, amid the silence of the crowded hall, the Clerk of the House read as follows:

RESOLVED, That the thanks of this House are due, and are hereby tendered, to Hon. James G. Blaine, for the distinguished ability and impartiality with which he has discharged the duty of Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Forty-second Congress.

The resolution was adopted unanimously.

FOUR YEARS OF SERVICE.

On the same day, in adjourning the House *sine die*, Mr. Blaine spoke as follows:

GENTLEMEN: For the forty-second time since the Federal Government was organized, its great representative body stands on the eve of dissolution. The final word which separates us is suspended for a moment that I may return my sincere thanks for the kind expressions respecting my official conduct, which, without division of party, you have caused to be entered on your journal.

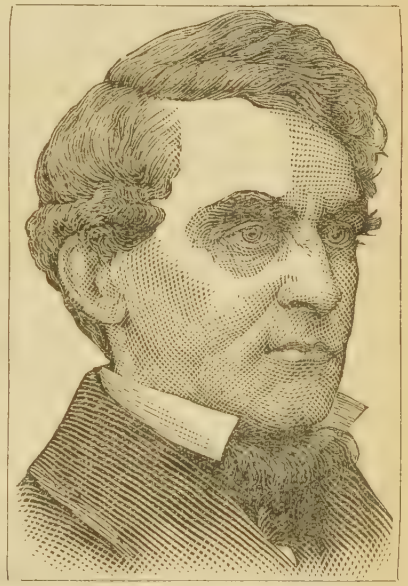
At the close of four years' service in this responsible and often trying position, it is a source of honorable pride that I have so administered my trust as to secure the confidence and approbation of both sides of the House. It would not be strange if, in the necessarily rapid discharge of the daily business, I should have erred in some of the decisions made on points, and often without precedent to guide me. It has been my good fortune, however, to be always sustained by the House, and in no single instance to have had a ruling reversed. I advert to this gratifying fact, to quote the language of the most eloquent of my predecessors, "in no spirit of exaltation, but as furnishing a powerful motive for undissembled gratitude."

And now, gentlemen, with a hearty God bless you all, I discharge my only remaining duty in declaring that the House of Representatives for the Forty-second Congress is adjourned without day.

THIRD ELECTION.

For the third time, James G. Blaine, of Maine, was elected Speaker of the United States House of Representatives on December 2, 1873. He was conducted to the chair by Mr. Maynard, of Tennessee, and Mr. Wood, of New York, and spoke as follows:

GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES: The vote this moment announced by the Clerk is such an expression of your confidence as calls for my sincerest thanks, To be chosen Speaker of the American House of Representatives is always an honorable distinction; to be chosen a third time enhances the honor more than three-fold; to be chosen by the largest body that ever assembled in the Capitol imposes a burden of responsibility which only your indulgent kindness could embolden me to assume.



F. T. FRELINGHUYSEN.

The first occupant of this chair presided over a House of sixty-five members, representing a population far below the present aggregate of the State of New York. At that time in the whole United States

there were not fifty thousand civilized inhabitants to be found one hundred miles distant from the flow of the Atlantic tide.

MARVELLOUS GROWTH.

To-day, gentlemen, a large body of you come from beyond that limit, and represent districts then peopled only by the Indian and adventurous frontiersman. The National Government is not yet as old as many of its citizens; but in this brief span of time, less than one lengthened life, it has, under God's providence, extended its power until a continent is the field of its empire, and attests the majesty of its law.

With the growth of new States and the resultant changes in the centres of population, new interests are developed, rival to the old, but by no means hostile, diverse, but not antagonistic. Nay, rather are all these interests in harmony; and the true science of just government is to give to each its full and fair play, oppressing none by undue exaction, favoring none by undue privilege. It is this great lesson which our daily experience is teaching us, binding us together more closely, making our mutual dependence more manifest, and causing us to feel, whether we live in the North or in the South, in the East or in the West, that we have indeed but "one country, one Constitution, one destiny."

VALEDICTORY ADDRESS.

At the close of the session, March 3, 1875, Mr. Blaine addressed the House in a very impressive manner. He took farewell of the expiring Congress and

of his own office as Speaker. After the customary vote of thanks he spoke as follows:

GENTLEMEN: I close with this hour a six years' service as Speaker of the House of Representatives—a period surpassed in length by but two of my predecessors, and equaled by only two others. The rapid mutations of personal and political fortunes in this country have limited the great majority of those who have occupied this Chair to shorter terms of office.

It would be the gravest insensibility to the honors and responsibilities of life, not to be deeply touched by so signal a mark of public esteem as that which I have thrice received at the hands of my political associates. I desire in this last moment to renew to

A POST OF DIGNITY AND RESPONSIBILITY.

them, one and all, my thanks and my gratitude.

To those from whom I differ in my party relations —the minority of this House—I tender my acknowledgments for the generous courtesy with which they have treated me. By one of those sudden and decisive changes which distinguish popular institutions, and which conspicuously mark a free people, that minority is transformed in the ensuing Congress to the governing power of the House. However it might possibly have been under other circumstances, that event renders these words my farewell to the Chair.

The Speakership of the American House of Representatives is a post of honor, of dignity, of power, of responsibility. Its duties are at once complex and

continuous; they are both onerous and delicate; they are performed in the broad light of day, under the eye of the whole people, subject at all times to the closest observation, and always attended with the sharpest criticism. I think no other official is held to such instant and such rigid accountability. Parliamentary rulings in their very nature are peremptory; almost absolute in authority and instantaneous in effect. They cannot always be enforced in such a way as to win applause or secure popularity; but I am sure that no man of any party who is worthy to fill this Chair will ever see a dividing line between duty and policy.

Thanking you once more, and thanking you most cordially for the honorable testimonial you have placed on record to my credit, I perform my only remaining duty in declaring that the Forty-third Congress has reached its constitutional limit, and that the House of Representatives stands adjourned without day.

SHARP SKIRMISH WITH BEN BUTLER.

The retiring Speaker's words thrilled the immense assemblage. Cheers and shouts of approval attested his popularity. Says an eye-witness: "Never before was witnessed such a scene at the close of Congress." The attack upon him by B. F. Butler will have a special interest to the reader. On the 16th of March, 1871, when the House was debating a resolution providing for an investigation into alleged outrages upon loyal citizens of the South, Mr. Butler bitterly assailed Mr. Blaine, and censured him for being the author

of the resolution and securing its adoption by a Republican caucus. The following sharp discussion ensued:

Mr. Blaine—I nominated Mr. Butler chairman of the committee, because I knew that if I omitted the appointment of the gentleman, it would be heralded throughout the length and breadth of the country, by the *claqueurs* who have so industriously distributed this letter this morning, that the Speaker had packed the committee, as the gentleman said he would, with "weak-kneed Republicans," who would not go into an investigation vigorously, as he would. That was the reason. So that the Chair laid the responsibility upon the gentleman of declining the appointment.

Mr. Butler—I knew that was the trick of the Chair.

Mr. Blaine—Ah, the "trick!" We now know what the gentleman meant by the word "trick." I am very glad to know that the "trick" was successful.

Mr. Butler—No doubt.

Mr. Blaine—It is this "trick" which places the gentleman from Massachusetts on his responsibility before the country.

Then he defied Mr. Butler to name any members who had voted under coercion; and on his refusal to do so, on the plea that he could not violate private conversations, the Speaker exclaimed:

Oh, no; but you will distribute throughout the entire country unfounded calumnies purporting to rest upon assertions made in private conversations, which, when called for, cannot be verified.

Mr. Butler—Pardon me, sir. I said there was a caucus——

Mr. Blaine—I hope God will pardon you; but you ought not to ask me to do it!

Mr. Butler—I will ask God, and not you.

Mr. Blaine—I am glad the gentleman will.

Mr. Butler—I have no favors to ask of the devil.

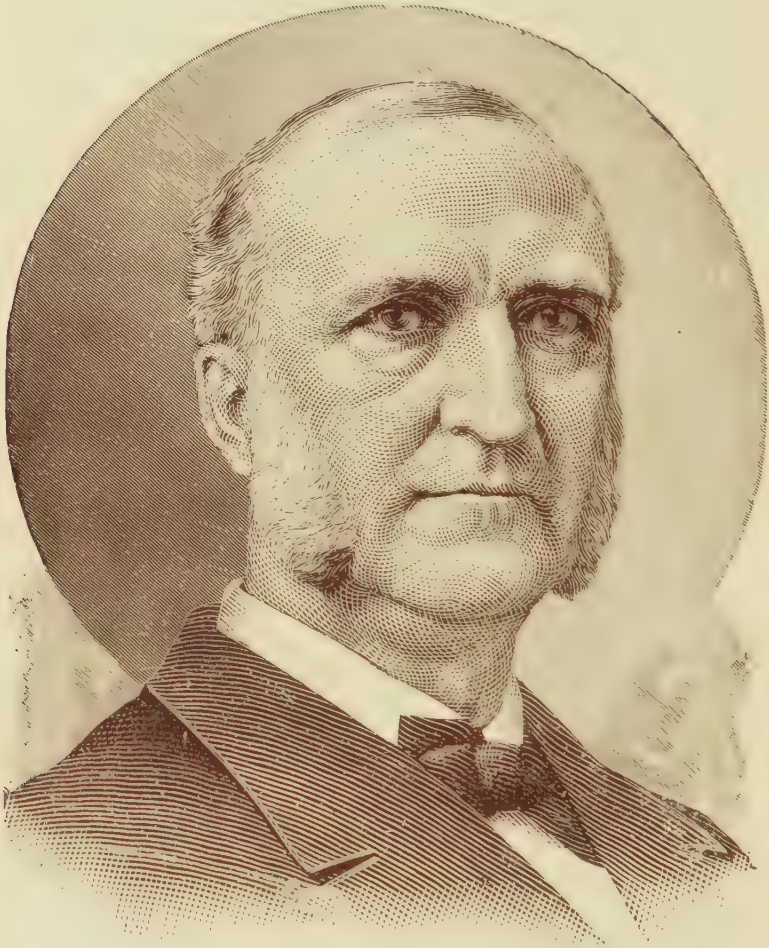
THE PARTY CAUCUS.

Mr. Blaine had some plain words to speak concerning the binding power of the party caucus. He jibed Butler for being a weather-vane in politics, changing from one party to another. He defended his own right to take part in the proceedings of the House. These were his words:

Why, even in the worst days of the Democracy, when the gentleman himself was in the front rank of the worst wing of it, when was it ever attempted to say that a majority of a party caucus could bind men upon measures that involved questions of constitutional law, of personal honor, of religious scruple? The gentleman asked what would have been done—he asked my colleague (Mr. Peters) what would have been done in case of members of a party voting against the caucus nominee for Speaker. I understand that was intended as a thrust at myself. Caucus nominations of officers have always been held as binding.

But, just here, let me say, that if a minority did not vote against the decision of the caucus that nominated me for Speaker, in my judgment, it was not the fault of the gentleman from Massachusetts. If the requisite

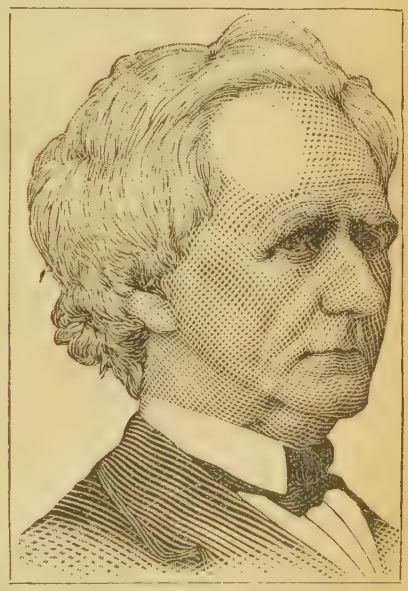
ROBERT T. LINCOLN.



CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

number could have been found to have gone over to the despised Nazarenes on the opposite side, that gentleman would have led them as gallantly as he did the forces in the Charleston Convention.

Mr. Speaker, in old times it was the ordinary habit of the Speaker of the House of Representatives to take part in debate. The custom has fallen into disuse. For one, I am very glad that it has. For one, I approve of the conclusion that forbids it. The Speaker should, with consistent fidelity to his own party, be the impartial administrator of the rules of the House, and a constant participation in the discussions of members would take from him that appearance of impartiality which it is so important to maintain in the rulings of the Chair.



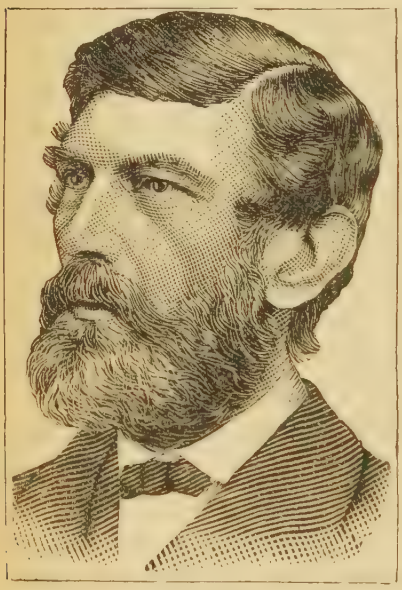
SIMON CAMERON.

THE HEIGHT OF INSOLENCE.

But at the same time I despise and denounce the insolence of the gentleman from Massachusetts, when he attempts to say that the Representative from the Third District of the State of Maine has no right to frame a resolution; has no right to seek that under

the rules that resolution shall be adopted; has no right to ask the judgment of the House upon that resolution. Why, even the insolence of the gentleman himself never reached that sublime height before.

Now, Mr. Speaker, nobody regrets more sincerely than I do any occurrence which calls me to take the floor. On questions of propriety, I appeal to members on both sides of the House, and they will bear me witness, that the circulation of this letter in the morning prints; its distribution throughout the land by telegraph; the laying it upon the desks of members, was intended to be by the gentleman from Massachusetts, not openly and boldly, but covertly—I will not use a stronger phrase—an insult to the Speaker of this House. As such I resent it. I denounce it in all its essential statements, and in all its misstatements, and in all its meaner inferences and meaner innuendoes. I denounce this letter as groundless without justification; and the gentleman himself, I trust, will live to see the day when he will be ashamed of having written it.



WILLIAM D. KELLEY.

CREDIT MOBILIER SCANDAL.

At the second session of the 42d Congress, beginning December 2, 1872, Speaker Blaine on the first day called attention to the charges made by Democratic orators and newspapers during the Presidential campaign just closed, that the Vice-President (Colfax), and the Vice-President elect (Wilson), the Secretary of the Treasury, several Senators, the Speaker of the House, and a large number of Representatives, including James A. Garfield, H. L. Dawes and William D. Kelley, had been bribed during the years 1867 and 1868, by Oakes Ames, a member of the House from Massachusetts; that he and his agents had given them presents of stock in a corporation known as the Credit Mobilier, to influence their legislative action for the benefit of the Union Pacific Railroad company.

Upon Speaker Blaine's motion, a committee of investigation was appointed by Hon. S. S. Cox, of New York, a noted Democrat temporarily called to the Chair.

After the close of the campaign (as was remarked by the *Republic Magazine* at the time) the dominant party might well have claimed, and would have insisted had they been opposed to a thorough investigation and a full exposure of corruption, that the verdict of the people in the late canvass was sufficient answer to these charges; but the Republican party not merely granted all the investigations sought, but summoned on the leading committee a majority of its political foes to conduct the inquest.

In moving his resolution for the appointment of a committee to investigate the charge Mr. Blaine said:

A charge of bribery of members is the gravest that can be made in a legislative body. It seems to me, sir, that this charge demands prompt, thorough and impartial investigation, and I have taken the floor for the purpose of moving that investigation. Unwilling, of course, to appoint any committee of investigation to examine into a charge in which I was myself included, I have called you, sir, to the Chair, an honored member of the House, honored here and honored in the country; and when on Saturday last I called upon you and advised you of this service, I placed upon you no other restriction in the appointment of a committee than that it should not contain a majority of my political friends.

REFUSES INCREASED SALARY.

In the strict discharge of his functions Mr. Blaine had been in favor of economy, and refused to accept the increased salary assigned to the Speaker by the notorious Salary Bill. During the consideration of the bill, on the last day of January, 1873, he addressed the House as Speaker, and made the following remarks:

The Chair now desires to make a statement personal to himself. In reading the bill the Chair presumes the language of this amendment would make the Speaker's salary $10,000 for this Congress. The salary of the Speaker, the last time the question of pay was under consideration, was adjusted to that of

the Vice-President and members of the Cabinet. The Chair thinks that adjustment should not be disturbed, and the question which he now raises does not affect the pay of other members of the House. He asks unanimous consent to put in the word "hereafter," to follow the words "shall receive." This will affect whoever shall be Speaker of the House of Representatives hereafter, and does not affect the Speaker of this House, but leaves him upon the same plane with the Vice-President and Cabinet officers, upon the salary as before adjusted.

Mr. Blaine's course was approved by the Nation, and his refusal to accept increased salary was proof that his main idea was not to grab the loaves and fishes. When the repeal of the bill was under consideration he cast the deciding vote, as Speaker, which kept the matter before the House.

CHAPTER IX.

The Famous Mulligan Letters.

After the war the Republicans had a majority in Congress up to 1874. During this year, which was, to some extent, a period of revolution in politics, the Democrats obtained a majority of Congressmen, and during the ensuing session they endeavored to make the most of their power.

They assumed that the Republican rule at Washington had been attended by wholesale corruption and fraud. They began to pry and investigate. Committee after committee was appointed, the object being to fasten charges upon the party that had ruled so long in Congress. Every stone was to be overturned to see what was concealed under it; every bush was to be beaten to discover what game might be lurking within it; every man's pockets were to be turned inside out to ascertain whether there was any lucre there which had been dishonestly obtained. There was a craze for investigation. The bloodhounds were to be put upon the track. Congress was to play the detective, and rake the gutters for evidences of underhanded dealings.

Unquestionably there were opportunity and necessity for investigation. No political party was ever in

power for a whole generation without drawing to it some men whose patriotism burned to obtain the loaves and fishes, whose highest ambition was to serve their country for what they could make out of it. The investigating committees did start some game; with an immense whoop and shout they chased and bagged it. It was the right thing to do, and no man who is not a thief will enter a single word of protest.

ATTACK ON MR. BLAINE.

Of course, a mark so conspicuous as the late Speaker of the House could not escape this mania for investigation. His political opponents were eager to cripple his power and limit his influence. They foresaw that under his leadership his party would likely maintain its prestige, and would continue to legislate for the country. Eyes were opened and ears were listening for something that might prove damaging to his reputation. There he stood in all his integrity, his whole life open as the sunlight, his course consistent and honorable from the beginning, his name a tower of strength in the councils of the Nation; he was a mark for envy, as every man is who, by his own genius and brilliancy, rises above his fellows and is carried upon the wave of a nation's applause.

The question therefore was whether any charge could be brought against Mr. Blaine concerning his conduct of public affairs, or his private transactions outside of his political life. The movement against him did not begin in Congress. A western newspaper, far from being a leading journal, made an attack upon

him which at first awakened very little attention, but which was repeated, and each time with greater boldness and definiteness of detail. This was a fine nut for his enemies to crack; this was something they had been eager to obtain; this gave them the opportunity their malice had been seeking. It was not claimed that he was a murderer, that he was a horse-thief, that he was a pickpocket, that he had cheated his washerwoman, but it was asserted that as Speaker of the House he had used his vast influence in favor of certain western railroads, and that he had been amply compensated for his services. In short, he had taken money which would not have come to him if he had not favored the corporations from which the guilty spoils were received. He had obtained stock from these railroad companies on terms exceedingly favorable, and his honesty as a man and statesman was called in question.

AN INVESTIGATION APPOINTED.

At this time the Hon. Michael C. Kerr, of Indiana, was Speaker of the House, and one of the most conspicuous members was Hon. Proctor Knott, of Kentucky. The matter of Mr. Blaine's dreadful conduct having been brought to the attention of the House, a committee of investigation was appointed with Mr. Knott as chairman, a man who would not be likely ever to incur the charge of whitewashing any man opposed to his own political principles.

On April 24, 1876, Mr. Blaine made an eloquent and convincing speech in the House in answer to the

BLAINE AND HARRISON FAMILIES AT BAR HARBOR.

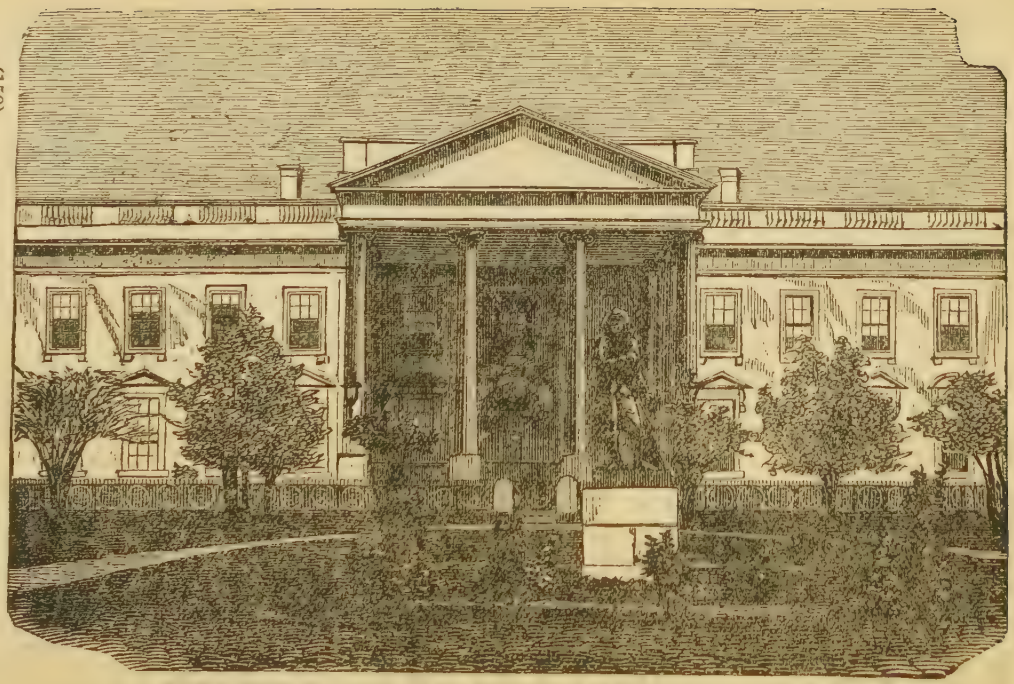
SCENE AT THE DEATH BED OF JAMES G. BLAINE

charges, and by his frank statement carried conviction to many minds which before had been somewhat suspicious. And here it must be said, that in all this unhappy affair by which he was placed as a culprit before Congress and the country, his bearing was that of an innocent, high-minded, noble, brave man, who courted investigation instead of seeking to evade it. In answer to the grave charge that he had received a considerable sum of money from the Union Pacific Railroad Company for official influence, and another sum from an Arkansas railroad, he made the following comprehensive and straightforward speech:

A SERIOUS ACCUSATION REFUTED.

Mr. Speaker, with the leave of the House so kindly granted, I shall proceed to submit certain facts and correct certain errors personal to myself. The dates of the correspondence embraced in my statement will show that it was impossible for me to make it earlier. I shall be as brief as the circumstances will permit. For some months past a charge against me has been circulating in private—and was recently made public—designing to show that I had in some indirect manner received the large sum of $64,000 from the Union Pacific Railroad Company in 1871, for what services or for what purpose has never been stated.

The alleged proofs of the serious accusation were based, according to the original story, upon the authorship of E. H. Rollins, treasurer of the Union Pacific Company, who, it is averred, had full knowledge that I got the money, and also upon the authority of Morton,



THE WHITE HOUSE—THE OBJECT OF BLAINE'S AMBITION.

Bliss & Company, bankers, of New York, through whom the draft for $64,000 was said to have been negotiated for my benefit, as they confidently knew. Hearing of this charge some weeks in advance of its publication, I procured the following statement from the two principal witnesses, who were quoted as having such definite knowledge against me:

UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY.

BOSTON, March 31, 1876.

Dear Sir:—In response to your inquiry, I beg leave to state that I have been treasurer of the Union Pacific Railroad Company since April 8, 1871, and have necessarily known of all disbursements made since that date. During the entire period up to the present time I am sure that no money has been paid in any way or to any person by the company in which you were interested in any manner whatever. I make the statement in justice to the company, to you, and to myself. Very respectfully yours,

E. H. ROLLINS.

HON. JAMES G. BLAINE.

NEW YORK, April 6, 1876.

Dear Sir:—In answer to your inquiry, we beg to say that no draft, note, or check, or other evidence of value has passed through our books in which you were known or supposed to have any interest of any kind, direct or indirect.

We remain, very respectfully, your obedient servants,

MORTON, BLISS & CO.

HON. JAMES G. BLAINE, Washington, D. C.

Some persons on reading the letters of Morton, Bliss & Company said that its denial seemed to be confined to any payment that had passed through their books, whereas they might have paid a draft in which I was interested and yet no entry made of it on their books. On the criticism being made known to the firm, they at once addressed me the following letter:

NEW YORK, April 13, 1876.

Dear Sir:—It has been suggested to us that our letter of the 6th instant was not sufficiently inclusive or exclusive. In that letter we stated "that no draft, note, or check, or other evidence of value has ever passed through our books in which you were known or supposed to have any interest, direct or indirect." It may be proper for us to add that nothing has been paid to us in any form, or at any time, to any person or any corporation in which you were known, believed, or supposed to have any interest whatever.

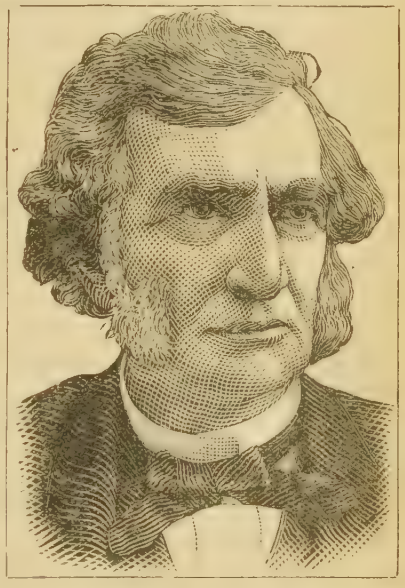
We remain, very respectfully, your obedient servants,

MORTON, BLISS & CO.

HON. JAMES G. BLAINE, Washington, D. C.

The two witnesses quoted for the original charge having thus effectually disposed of it, the charge itself reappeared in another form to this effect, namely: That a certain draft was negotiated at the house of Morton, Bliss & Company in 1871, through Thomas A. Scott, then president of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, for the sum of $64,000, and that $75,000 of the bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad Company were pledged as collateral; that the Union

Pacific Company paid the draft and took up the collateral; that the cash proceeds of it went to me, and that I had furnished, or sold, or in some way conveyed or transferred to Thomas A. Scott, these Little Rock and Fort Smith bonds which had been used as collateral; that the bonds in reality had belonged to me or some friend or constituent of mine for whom I was acting. I endeavor to state the charge in its boldest form and in all its phases.



J. S. MORRILL.

THE WHOLE STORY FALSE.

I desire here and now to declare that all and every part of this story that connects my name with it, is absolutely untrue, without a particle of foundation in fact, and without a tittle of evidence to substantiate it. I never had any transaction of any kind with Thomas A. Scott concerning bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Road, or the bonds of any other railroad, or any business in any way connected with railroads, directly or indirectly, immediately or remotely. I never had any business transactions whatever with the Union Pacific Railroad Company, or any

of its officers or agents or representatives, and never, in any manner, received from that Company, directly or indirectly, a single dollar in money, or stocks, or bonds, or any other form of value.

And as to the particular transaction referred to, I never so much as heard of it until nearly two years after its alleged occurrence, when it was talked of, at the time of the Credit Mobilier investigation, in 1873. But while my denial ought to be conclusive, I should greatly regret to be compelled to leave the matter there. I am fortunately able to sustain my own declaration by the most conclusive evidence that the case admits of, or that human testimony can supply. If any person or persons know the truth or falsity of these charges, it must be the officers of the Union Pacific Railroad Company.

CONVINCING LETTERS.

I accordingly addressed a note to the president of that company, a gentleman who has been a director of the company from its organization, I believe, who has a more thorough acquaintance with its business transactions, probably, than any other man. The correspondence, which I here submit, will explain itself, and leave nothing to be said. I will read these letters in their proper order. They need no comment.

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 13, 1876.

Dear Sir:—You have doubtless observed the scandal now in circulation in regard to my having been interested in certain bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Road, alleged to have been purchased by your

company in 1871. It is due to me, I think, that some statement in regard to the subject should be made by yourself, as the official head of the Union Pacific Railroad Company.

Very respectfully,

J. G. BLAINE.

SIDNEY DILLON, ESQ., President Union Pacific Railroad Company.

OFFICE UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY,

NEW YORK, April 15, 1876.

Dear Sir:—I have your favor of the 13th instant, and in reply desire to say that I have this day written Colonel Thomas A. Scott, who was president of the Union Pacific Company at the time of the transaction referred to, a letter, of which I send a copy herewith. On receipt of his reply, I will enclose it to you.

Very respectfully,

SIDNEY DILLON, President.

HON. JAMES G. BLAINE, Washington, D. C.

OFFICE OF THE UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD CO.,

NEW YORK, April 15, 1876.

Dear Sir:—The press of the country are making allegations that certain bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad Company, in 1871, were obtained from Hon. James G. Blaine, of Maine, or that the avails, in some form, went to his benefit, and that the knowledge of those facts rests with the officers of the company and with yourself. These statements are injurious both to Mr. Blaine and to the Union Pacific Railroad Company. There were never any facts to warrant them, and I think that a statement to the public is due both from you and myself. I desire, as president of

the company, to repel any such inference in the most emphatic manner, and would be glad to hear from you on the subject.

Very respectfully,

SIDNEY DILLON, President.

COL. THOMAS A. SCOTT, Philadelphia, Pa.

OFFICE UNION PACIFIC RAILROAD COMPANY,
NEW YORK, April 22, 1876.

Dear Sir:—As I advised you some days ago, I wrote Colonel Thomas A. Scott, and begged leave to enclose you his reply. I desire further to say that I was a director of the company and a member of the executive committee in 1871, and to add my testimony to that of Colonel Scott in verification of all that he has stated in the enclosed letter.

Truly yours,

SIDNEY DILLON, President.

HON. JAMES G. BLAINE, Washington, D. C.

PHILADELPHIA, April 21, 1876.

My Dear Sir:—I have your letter under date New York, April 15, 1876, stating that the press of the country are making allegations that certain bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad, purchased by the Union Pacific Railroad Company in 1871, were obtained from Hon. James G. Blaine, of Maine, or that the avails in some form went to his benefit; that there never were any facts to warrant them; that it is your desire as president of the company to repel any such inference in the most emphatic manner, and asking me to make a statement in regard to the matter.

In reply, I beg leave to say that much as I dislike the idea of entering into any of the controversies that are before the public in these days of scandal from

which but few men in public life seem to be exempt, I feel it my duty to state:

That the Little Rock and Fort Smith bonds purchased by the Union Pacific Railroad Company in 1871 were not purchased or received from Mr. Blaine, directly or indirectly, and that of the money paid by the Union Pacific Railroad Company, or of the avails of said bonds, not one dollar went to Mr. Blaine or to any person for him, or for his benefit in any form.

All statements to the effect that Mr. Blaine ever had any transactions with me, directly or indirectly, involving money or valuables of any kind, are absolutely without foundation in fact.

I take pleasure in making this statement to you, and you may use it in any manner you deem best for the interest of the Union Pacific Railroad Company.

Very truly yours,

THOMAS A. SCOTT.

SIDNEY DILLON, ESQ., President,
Union Pacific Railroad Company, New York.

THE CASE IN A NUTSHELL.

Let me now, Mr. Speaker, briefly summarize what I presented: First, that the story of my receiving $64,000 or any other sum of money, or anything of value, from the Union Pacific Railroad Company, directly or indirectly, or in any form, is absolutely disproved by the most conclusive testimony. Second, that no bond of mine was ever sold to the Atlantic and Pacific, or the Missouri, Kansas and Texas Railroad Company, and that not a single dollar of money from either of these companies ever went to my profit or benefit. Third, that instead of receiving bonds of

the Little Rock and Fort Smith Road as a gratuity, I never had one except at the regular market price; and instead of making a large fortune off that company, I have incurred a severe pecuniary loss from my investment in its securities, which I still retain; and out of such affairs as these grows the popular gossip of large fortunes amassed in Congress.

JOSEPH R. HAWLEY.

I can hardly expect, Mr. Speaker, that any statement from me will stop the work of those who have so industriously circulated these calumnies. For months past the effort has been energetic and continuous to spread these stories in private circles. Emissaries of slander have visited editorial rooms of leading Republican papers from Boston to Omaha, and whispered of revelations to come that were too terrible even to be spoken in loud tones, and at last the revelations have been made. I am now, Mr. Speaker, in the fourteenth

year of a not inactive service in this hall; I have taken and given blows; I have no doubt said many things in the heat of debate that I would gladly recall; I have no doubt given votes which in fuller light I would gladly change; but I have never done anything in my public career for which I could be put to the faintest blush in any presence, or for which I cannot answer to my constituents, my conscience, and the Great Searcher of Hearts.

FANNING THE FLAME OF SCANDAL.

The foregoing statement of Mr. Blaine was final and convincing except to those who were not willing to be convinced by any denial or any array of evidence. The effect was to increase the confidence his friends and his party had reposed in him; but there were members of Congress and newspapers quite ready to renew the attack. The time for holding the Republican National Convention was not far distant, and it was understood that Mr. Blaine was a prominent candidate for the presidential nomination. The favorite political game was played, and an attempt was made to smirch Mr. Blaine's reputation and kill his chances in the convention.

On the first of May it was stated with a great flourish in one of the leading newspapers of New York that Mr. Blaine had received as a gift certain shares of the Kansas Pacific Railroad, and it was said that positive proof was at hand of his then being engaged in a lawsuit regarding these shares. It was shown that John E. Blaine, brother of James G., was the one

interested in the lawsuit in a Kansas court; it was also proved by the lawyers and newspaper correspondents that Mr. Blaine was not in any way interested or concerned in the transaction. He concluded his explanation as follows:

OPPOSED TO A FLEA-HUNT.

Having now noticed the two charges that have been so extensively circulated, I shall refrain from calling the attention of the House to any others that may be invented. To quote the language of another, "I do not propose to make my public life a perpetual and uncomfortable flea-hunt, in the vain efforts to run down stories which have no basis in truth, which are usually anonymous, and whose total refutation brings no punishment to those who have been guilty of originating them."

It was plain that Mr. Blaine was master of the situation, and was not likely to suffer from the attacks of his enemies. He was strong in his defence; he boldly met every charge and it fell before him; his popularity, instead of diminishing, had increased, and the weapons hurled at him had only struck his impenetrable armor and fallen harmlessly at his feet.

But he was not to be allowed to rest. Acquitted by the great tribunal of public opinion, he had still to encounter the political venom of his accusers in Congress. On the 2d of May Mr. Tarbox, of Massachusetts, introduced into the House a resolution calling for an investigation of an alleged purchase by the Union Pacific Railroad Company of certain bonds of

the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad Company. It was claimed that the price paid was much greater than the real value of the bonds.

OBJECT OF THE RESOLUTION.

The statement of Mr. Tarbox in introducing his proposition was, that the investigation was not aimed at Mr. Blaine, and was not to be directed to his business transactions. As this was supposed to be a truthful statement no objection was made, and the inquiry was ordered.

At once it appeared that the object was directly the opposite to what had been stated. It was another covert attack on Mr. Blaine. Under the guise of an investigation of a railroad transaction, he and his private affairs were to be dragged before the nation. He was just as ready to meet this attack as he had been to repel others.

He demanded a prompt investigation, for he was not willing to remain a moment under suspicion. He wished to meet at once all charges brought against him. There was no haste on the part of his enemies; delay was what they courted, for it would damage Mr. Blaine's chances in the National Convention.

NEW AND STARTLING FEATURE.

Suddenly it was announced that some of Mr. Blaine's private correspondence would be produced in evidence. A confidential clerk, named Mulligan, had come from Boston to Washington to testify that he had abstracted some of Mr. Blaine's letters, showing his transactions with certain Railroad Companies, and

these would show conclusively the crookedness of his dealings. With almost equal suddenness it was announced that Mr. Blaine had obtained possession of his own letters, and they would not appear in evidence.

The affair was the talk of the country. Mr. Blaine's enemies more than insinuated that he had secured the letters in order to suppress them and stifle their damaging disclosures. His friends were restless and nervous, and hardly knew what to think of his action. In fact, he took the letters, not to suppress them, but to make them public, to put the truthful construction upon them, and not allow a misinformed investigating committee to put an interpretation upon them which was utterly false.

A BOLD MOVE.

Nothing could show more conclusively Mr. Blaine's consummate generalship than his production of this correspondence on the floor of Congress. His enemies were struck with astonishment; his friends expressed their admiration and delight. In an instant the whole situation had changed. There was nothing in the letters he was ashamed of, and although Mulligan could produce letters he had no right whatever to make public, he could not furnish any criminating evidence. The two witnesses from Boston, Fisher and Mulligan, only gave him the opportunity to clear away the whole mass of innuendoes, charges, whisperings, and base insinuations which had been industriously gathered about his name. The investigation committee tried to obtain these letters. Mr. Blaine refused

to yield them up, claimed his right to hold and use them, and in support of it brought forward the opinions of ex-Judge Black, a good Democrat, and Matthew H. Carpenter, the distinguished Senator from Wisconsin.

A. H. GARLAND.

His refusal was attributed by many to fear of revealing the contents of the letters. Judge then of their astonishment when in the course of his memorable defence before the House of Representatives he held up the parcel of letters, and with a voice that thrilled his auditors, exclaimed: "I invite the confidence of 44,000,000 of my countrymen while I read those letters from the desk."

THE GLADIATOR FACES HIS FOES.

On the 5th of June Mr. Blaine quietly arose in the House of Representatives, and said: "Mr. Speaker, if the morning hour has expired, I desire to speak on a question of privilege." Whereupon Mr. Blaine proceeded as follows:

Mr. Speaker, on the second day of May this resolution was passed by the House:

"WHEREAS, it is publicly alleged, and is not denied by the officers of the Union Pacific Railroad Company, that that corporation did, in the year 1871 or 1872, become the owner of certain bonds of the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad Company, for which bonds the said Union Pacific Railroad Company paid a consideration largely in excess of their market or actual value, and that the board of directors of said Union Pacific Railroad Company, though urged, have neglected to investigate said transaction; therefore,

"*Be it resolved*, That the Committee on the Judiciary be instructed to inquire if any such transaction took place, and, if so, what were the circumstances or inducements thereto, from what person or persons said bonds were obtained and upon what consideration, and whether the transaction was from corrupt design or in furtherance of any corrupt object; and that the committee have power to send for persons and papers."

AIMED AT HIMSELF.

That resolution on its face, and in its fair intent, was obviously designed to find out whether any improper thing had been done by the Union Pacific Railroad Company; and of course, incidentally thereto, to find out with whom the transaction was made.

No sooner was the sub-committee designated than it became entirely obvious that the resolution was solely and only aimed at me. I think there had not been three questions asked until it was evident that the investigation was to be a personal one upon me,

and that the Union Pacific Railroad, or any other incident of the transaction, was secondary, insignificant and unimportant. I do not complain of that; I do not say that I had any reason to complain of it. If the investigation was to be made in that personal sense, I was ready to meet it.

The gentleman on whose statement the accusation rested was first called. He stated what he knew from rumor. Then there were called Mr. Rollins, Mr. Morton, and Mr. Millard, from Omaha, a Government director of the Union Pacific Road, and finally Thomas A. Scott.

THE CHARGE DISPROVED.

The testimony was completely and conclusively in disproof of the charge that there was any possibility that I could have had anything to do with the transaction. When the famous witness Mulligan came here loaded with information in regard to the Fort Smith Road, the gentleman from Virginia drew out what he knew had no reference whatever to the question of investigation. He then and there insisted on all my private memoranda being allowed to be exhibited by that man in reference to business that had no more connection, no more relation, no more to do with that investigation than with the North Pole.

And the gentleman tried his best, also, though I believe that has been abandoned, to capture and use and control my private correspondence. This man has selected, out of correspondence running over a great many years, letters which he thought would be pecu-

liarly damaging to me. He came here loaded with them. He came here for a sensation. He came here primed. He came here on that particular errand. I was advised of it, and I obtained those letters under circumstances which have been notoriously scattered over the United States, and are known to everybody. I have them. I claim that I have the entire right to those letters, not only by natural right, but by all the principles and precedents of law, as the man who held those letters in possession held them wrongfully.

VIOLATION OF PRIVATE RIGHTS.

The committee that attempted to take those letters from that man for use against me proceeded wrongfully. It proceeded in all boldness to a most defiant violation of the ordinary private and personal rights which belong to every American citizen. I wanted the gentleman from Kentucky and the gentleman from Virginia to introduce that question upon this floor, but they did not do it.

I stood up and declined, not only on the conclusions of my own mind, but by eminent legal advice. I was standing behind the rights which belong to every American citizen, and if they wanted to treat the question in my person anywhere in the legislative halls or judicial halls, I was ready. Then there went forth everywhere the idea and impression that because I would not permit that man, or any man whom I could prevent, from holding as a menace over my head my private correspondence, there must be in it something deadly and destructive to my reputation.

I would like any gentleman to stand up here and tell me that he is willing and ready to have his private correspondence scanned over and made public for the last eight or ten years. I would like any gentleman to say that. Does it imply guilt? Does it imply wrong-doing? Does it imply any sense of weakness that a man will protect his private correspondence? No, sir; it is the first instinct to do it, and it is the last outrage upon any man to violate it.

PRODUCES THE LETTERS.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I say that I have defied the power of the House to compel me to produce these letters. I speak with all respect to this House. I know its powers, and I trust I respect them. But I say that this House has no more power to order what shall be done or not done with my private correspondence, than it has with what I shall do in the nurture and education of my children, not a particle. The right is as sacred in the one case as it is in the other. But, sir, having vindicated that right, standing by it, ready to make any sacrifice in defence of it, here and now, if any gentleman wants to take issue with me on behalf of this House, I am ready for any extremity of contest or conflict in behalf of so sacred a right. And while I am so, I am not afraid to show the letters. Thank God Almighty, I am not ashamed to show them. There they are (holding up a package of letters). There is the very original package. And with some sense of humiliation, with a mortification I do not attempt to conceal, with a sense of the outrage

which I think any man in my position would feel, I invite the confidence of forty-four millions of my countrymen, while I read those letters from this desk. (Applause.)

* * * * * * *

This is the letter in which Mulligan says, and puts down in his abstract, that I admitted the sixty-four thousand dollar sale of bonds:

WASHINGTON, D. C., April 18, 1872.

My dear Mr. Fisher:—I answered you very hastily last evening, as you said you wished for an immediate reply, and perhaps in my hurry I did not make myself fully understood. You have been, for some time, laboring under a totally erroneous impression in regard to my results in the Fort Smith matter. The sales of bonds which you spoke of my making, and which you seem to have thought were for my own benefit, were entirely otherwise. I did not have the money in my possession forty-eight hours, but paid it over directly to the parties whom I tried, by every means in my power, to protect from loss. I am very sure that you have little idea of the labors, the losses, the efforts and the sacrifices I have made within the past year to save those innocent persons, who invested on my request, from personal loss.

And I say to you to-night, that I am immeasurably worse off than if I had never touched the Fort Smith matter. The demand you make upon me now is one which I am entirely unable to comply with. I cannot do it. It is not in my power. You say that "necessity knows no law." That applies to me as well as to you, and when I have reached the point I am now at, I simply fall back on that law. You are as well aware

as I am, that the bonds are due me under the contract. Could I have them, I could adjust many matters not now in my power, and as long as this and other matters remain unadjusted between us, I do not recognize the equity, or the lawfulness, of your calling on me for a partial settlement. I am ready at any moment to make a full, fair, comprehensive settlement with you, on the most liberal terms. I will not be exacting or captious or critical, but am ready and eager to make a broad and generous adjustment with you, and if we can't agree ourselves, we can select a mutual friend who can easily compromise all points of difference between us.

You will, I trust, see that I am disposed to meet you in a spirit of friendly cordiality, and yet with a sense of self-defence that impels me to be frank and expose to you my pecuniary weakness.

With very kind regards to Mrs. Fisher, I am yours truly,

J. G. Blaine.

W. Fisher, Jr., Esq.

ARKANSAS LAND GRANT.

I now pass to a letter dated Augusta, Me., October 4, 1869, but I read these letters now somewhat in their order. Now to this letter I ask the attention of the House. In the March session of 1869, the first one at which I was Speaker, the extra session of the Forty-first Congress, a land grant in the State of Arkansas to the Little Rock Road was reported. I never remember to have heard of the road, until at the last night of the session, when it was up here for consideration. The gentleman in Boston with whom I had relations did not have anything to do with that road for nearly

three or four months after that time. It is in the light of that statement that I desire that letter read.

In the autumn, six or eight months afterward, I was looking over the *Globe*, probably with some curiosity, if not pride, to see the decisions I had made the first five weeks I was speaker. I had not until then recalled this decision of mine, and when I came across it, all the facts came back to me fresh, and I wrote this letter:

(Personal.)

AUGUSTA, ME., October 4, 1869.

My Dear Sir:—I spoke to you a short time ago about a point of interest to your railroad company that occurred at the last session of the Congress.

It was on the last night of the session, when the bill renewing the land grant to the State of Arkansas for the Little Rock Road was reached, and Julian, of Indiana, chairman of the Public Lands Committee, and, by right, entitled to the floor, attempted to put on the bill as an amendment, the Fremont El Paso scheme—a scheme probably well known to Mr. Caldwell. The House was thin, and the lobby in the Fremont interest had the thing all set up, and Julian's amendment was likely to prevail if brought to a vote. Roots, and the other members from Arkansas, who were doing their best for their own bill (to which there seemed to be no objection), were in despair, for it was well known that the Senate was hostile to the Fremont scheme, and if the Arkansas bill had gone back to the Senate with Julian's amendments, the whole thing could have gone on the table and slept the sleep of death.

In this dilemma, Roots came to me to know what on earth he could do under the rules; for he said it was vital to his constituents that the bill should pass. I told

him that Julian's amendment was entirely out of order, because not germane; but he had not sufficient confidence in his own knowledge of the rules to make the point, but he said General Logan was opposed to the Fremont scheme and would probably make the point. I sent my page to General Logan with the suggestion, and he at once made the point. I could not do otherwise than sustain it, and so the bill was freed from the mischievous amendment moved by Julian, and at once passed without objection.

At that time I had never seen Mr. Caldwell, but you can tell him that without knowing it, I did him a great favor. Sincerely yours,

J. G. BLAINE.

W. FISHER, JR., ESQ., 24 India Street, Boston.

The amendment referred to in that letter will be found in *The Congressional Globe* of the First Session of the Forty-first Congress, page 702. That was before the Boston persons had ever touched the road.

"THOSE BONDS WERE NOT MINE."

There is mentioned in another letter $6,000 of land-grant bonds of the Union Pacific Railroad for which I stood as only part owner; these were only in part mine. As I have started to make a personal explanation, I want to make a full explanation in regard to this matter. Those bonds were not mine except in this sense: In 1869, a lady who is a member of my family and whose financial affairs I have looked after for many years—many gentlemen will know to whom I refer without my being more explicit—bought, on the recommendation of Mr. Hooper, $6,000 in land-grant

bonds of the Union Pacific Railroad as they were issued in 1869. She got them on what was called the stockholder's basis; I think it was a very favorable basis on which they distributed the bonds. These $6,000 of land-grant bonds were obtained in that way.

In 1871 the Union Pacific Railroad Company broke down, and these bonds fell so that they were worth about forty cents on the dollar. She was anxious to make herself safe, and I had so much confidence in the Fort Smith land bonds, that I proposed to her to make an exchange. The six bonds were in my possession, and I had previously advanced money to her for certain purposes, and held a part of these bonds as a security for that advance. The bonds, in that sense and in that sense only, were mine—that they were security for the loan which I had made. They were all literally hers; they were all sold finally for her account—not one of them for me. I make this statement in order to be perfectly fair.

WHAT "SOMEBODY ELSE" SAID.

I do not wish to detain the House, but I have one or two more observations to make. The specific charge that went to the committee, as it affects me, is whether I was a party in interest to the $64,000 transaction; and I submit that up to this time there has not been one particle of proof before the committee, sustaining that charge. Gentlemen have said that they heard somebody else say, and generally, when that somebody else was brought on the stand, it appeared that he did not say it at all. Colonel Thomas A.

Scott swore very positively and distinctly, under the most rigid cross-examination, all about it. Let me call attention to that letter of mine which Mulligan says refers to that. I ask your attention, gentlemen, as closely as if you were a jury, while I show the absurdity of that statement.

It is in evidence that, with the exception of a small fraction, the bonds which were sold to parties in Maine were first mortgage bonds. It is in evidence, over and over again, that the bonds which went to the Union Pacific Road were land-grant bonds. Therefore it is a moral impossibility that the bonds taken up to Maine should have gone to the Union Pacific Railroad. They were of different series, different kinds, different colors, everything different, as different as if not issued within a thousand miles of each other. So, on its face, it is shown that it could not be so.

A GREAT DEAL OF HEARSAY.

There has not been, I say, one positive piece of testimony in any direction. They sent to Arkansas to get some hearsay about bonds. They sent to Boston to get some hearsay. Mulligan was contradicted by Fisher, and Atkins and Scott swore directly against him. Morton, of Morton, Bliss & Co., never heard my name in the matter. Carnegee, who negotiated the note, never heard my name in that connection. Rollins said it was one of the intangible rumors he spoke of as floating in the air. Gentlemen who have lived any time in Washington, need not be told that intangible rumors get very considerable circulation here; and if

a man is to be held accountable in public opinion for intangible rumors, who in the House will stand?

Now, gentlemen, those letters I have read were picked out of correspondence extending over fifteen years. The man did his worst, the very worst he could, out of the most intimate business correspondence of my life. I ask, gentlemen, if any of you, and I ask it with some feeling, can stand a severer scrutiny of, or more rigid investigation into, your private correspondence? That was the worst he could do.

THAT CABLE DESPATCH.

There is one piece of testimony wanting. There is but one thing to close the complete circle of evidence. There is but one witness whom I could not have, to whom the Judiciary Committee, taking into account the great and intimate connection he had with the transaction, was asked to send a cable despatch, and I ask the gentleman from Kentucky if that cable despatch was sent to him?

Mr. Frye. Who?

Mr. Blaine. To Josiah Caldwell.

Mr. Knott. I will reply to the gentleman that Judge Hamton and myself have both endeavored to get Mr. Caldwell's address, and have not yet got it.

Mr. Blaine. Has the gentleman from Kentucky received a despatch from Mr. Caldwell?

Mr. Knott. I will explain that directly.

Mr. Blaine. I want a categorical answer.

Mr. Knott. I have received a despatch purporting to be from Mr. Caldwell.

Mr. Blaine. You did?

Mr. Knott. How did you know I got it?

Mr. Blaine. When did you get it? I want the gentleman from Kentucky to answer when he got it.

Mr. Knott. Answer my question first.

Mr. Blaine. I never heard of it until yesterday.

Mr. Knott. How did you hear it?

Mr. Blaine. I heard that you got a despatch last Thursday morning, at eight o'clock, from Josiah Caldwell, completely and absolutely exonerating me from this charge, and you have suppressed it. (Protracted applause upon the floor and in the galleries.) I want the gentleman to answer. (After a pause.) Does the gentleman from Kentucky decline to answer?

A BOLD CHARGE.

The gentleman from Kentucky in responding probably, I think, from what he said, intended to convey the idea that I had some illegitimate knowledge of how that despatch was obtained. I have had no communication with Josiah Caldwell. I have had no means of knowing from the telegraph office whether the despatch was received. But I tell the gentleman from Kentucky that murder will out, and secrets will leak. And I tell the gentleman now, and I am prepared to state to this House, that at eight o'clock on last Thursday morning, or thereabouts, the gentleman from Kentucky received and receipted for a message addressed to him from Josiah Caldwell, in London, entirely corroborating and substantiating the statements of Thomas A. Scott, which he had just read in the

New York papers, and entirely exculpating me from the charge which I am bound to believe, from the suppression of that report, that the gentleman is anxious to fasten upon me. (Protracted applause from the floor and galleries.)

MR. BLAINE THE VICTOR.

All accounts agree in representing the scene in the House during this speech as one unparalleled. The grand bearing, the acute reasoning, the eloquent periods and triumphant vindication of the accused, made a profound impression upon those who were present on that memorable day. Equally telling was the effect upon the country at large. The man Mulligan had done his worst; he had picked a number of letters from a correspondence extending over many years, had separated them from their connection, and with infernal ingenuity had twisted their meaning to his own contemptible purposes. Such rascality deserved the red-hot condemnation it received.

The scene was one of moral sublimity when Mr. Blaine turned to his abashed accusers, and with all the magnetic, overwhelming force of which he was capable, roared out in thunder tones: "You have received from Josiah Caldwell a despatch completely and absolutely exonerating me, and you have suppressed it!" The day on which Mr. Blaine made complete his vindication was a historic day in Congress, one that can never be forgotten by any who were witnesses of the extraordinary scene.

CHAPTER X.

"The Plumed Knight" and the Presidency.

The desire of Mr. Blaine's friends to secure for him the nomination for the presidency took definite shape in 1876. No one supposed his name could be kept out of the Convention, for his long and brilliant public career pointed him out as one most worthy to receive the honor of a nomination. It was not certain, however, that he could overcome the various preferences which always appear in a national convention, and gain a majority of the delegates.

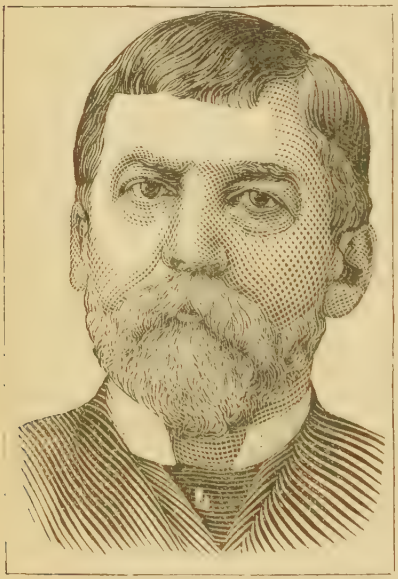
There was a widespread feeling in the Republican party that too many reproaches gathered about President Grant's last administration to admit of his re-nomination. The breath of scandal mingled with the winds that floated the Nation's flag. There was the scandal of the Whisky Ring; another of the Department of the Interior; another of the War Department, and many whisperings and insinuations of widespread corruption in high places.

Any man who went boldly into the den and dragged out hidden frauds or dishonesties was popular with the people. The Attorney-General, Mr. Bristow, had done this, and by reason of having uncovered the whisky frauds was quite the man of the hour. But he had

powerful rivals in Senator Conkling, of New York, and ex-Governor Morton, of Indiana.

ALL HOSTILE TO MR. BLAINE.

Superadded to Mr. Conkling's pre-eminent ability, which not even his political opponents ever disputed, and the commanding position he held in the Senate, he had the support of the administration. "Washington" was hurrahing for him, and all that is meant by that term was enlisted in his behalf.



EUGENE HALE.

Mr. Morton had been the "war-governor" of Indiana, had made himself famous by a brilliant record, was a rank foe to the solid South, and was making the most of his past services to influence the Convention in his favor.

Unfortunately on the Sunday morning preceding the Convention at Cincinnati, Mr. Blaine met with a partial sunstroke. In company with Mrs. Blaine he was on his way to church when, being overcome by the heat, he was compelled to sit down, and afterward to request that he might be carried home. This untoward event had some effect upon his prospects in the Convention,

yet his friends exerted themselves to the utmost, and did their best to hold his forces in line of battle. The report was industriously circulated at Cincinnati that he had been stricken with apoplexy and his illness was quite too serious to admit of his undergoing the strain of a presidential campaign.

AN ENCOURAGING TELEGRAM.

The anxiety of Mr. Blaine's friends was allayed by a telegram received from him by Congressman Eugene Hale, of Maine, which read as follows:

I am entirely convalescent, suffering only from physical weakness. Impress upon my friends the great depth of gratitude I feel for the unparalleled steadfastness with which they have adhered to me in my hour of trial. J. G. BLAINE.

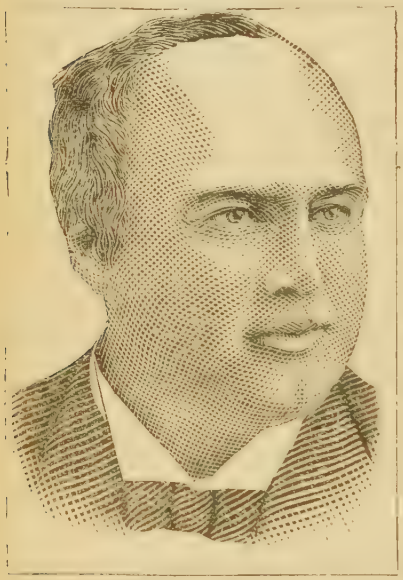
The decisive hour in the Convention was awaited with breathless suspense. The excitement was intense, not only at Cincinnati but in all parts of the country; excited crowds stood impatiently before bulletin-boards to obtain the news, and the public fever plainly indicated that great interest was felt in the result.

At length the time came for launching Mr. Blaine's name before the Convention, and Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll, of Illinois, ascended the platform. His appearance was the signal for an outburst of enthusiasm which shook the immense building, and seemed to roll its waves to the Atlantic on the one side and the Pacific on the other. He rose to the dignity of the occasion and delivered an address which has been famous since the hour that gave it birth.

It was in this celebrated speech that Mr. Blaine was first called "The Plumed Knight," an inspiring name ever after designating his heroic spirit, his courageous bearing and manly characteristics, all of which united to make him the most magnetic political leader of his time.

SPEECH OF ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

Massachusetts may be satisfied with the loyalty of Benjamin H. Bristow; so am I; but if any man nominated by this convention cannot carry the State of Massachusetts, I am not satisfied with the loyalty of that State. If the nominee of this convention cannot carry the grand old Commonwealth of Massachusetts by seventy-five thousand majority, I would advise them to sell out Faneuil Hall as a Democratic headquarters. I would advise them to take from Bunker Hill that old monument of glory.



ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

The Republicans of the United States demand as their leader in the great contest of 1876 a man of intelligence, a man of integrity, a man of well-known

and approved political opinions. They demand a reformer after as well as before the election. They demand a politician in the highest, broadest and best sense—a man of superb moral courage. They demand a man acquainted with public affairs, with the wants of the people; with not only the requirements of the hour, but with the demands of the future. They demand a man broad enough to comprehend the relations of this government to the other nations of the earth. They demand a man well versed in the powers, duties, and prerogatives of each and every department of this Government.

They demand a man who will sacredly preserve the financial honor of the United States; one who knows enough to know that the national debt must be paid through the prosperity of this people; one who knows enough to know that all the financial theories in the world cannot redeem a single dollar; one who knows enough to know that all the money must be made, not by law, but by labor; one who knows enough to know that the people of the United States have the industry to make the money and the honor to pay it over just as fast as they make it.

The Republicans of the United States demand a man who knows that prosperity and resumption, when they come, must come together; that when they come, they will come hand in hand through the golden harvest fields; hand in hand by the whirling spindles and the turning wheels; hand in hand past the open furnace doors; hand in hand by the flaming forges; hand in

hand by the chimneys filled with eager fire—greeted and grasped by the countless sons of toil.

This money has to be dug out of the earth. You cannot make it by passing resolutions in a political convention.

The Republicans of the United States want a man who knows that the government should protect every citizen, at home and abroad; who knows that any government that will not defend its defenders, and protect its protectors, is a disgrace to the map of the world. They demand a man who believes in the eternal separation and divorcement of Church and School. They demand a man whose political reputation is spotless as a star; but they do not demand that their candidate shall have a certificate of moral character signed by a Confederate Congress. The man who has, in full, heaped and rounded measure, all these splendid qualifications, is the present grand and gallant leader of the Republican party—James G. Blaine.

Our country, crowned with the vast and marvelous achievements of its first century, asks for a man worthy of the past and prophetic of her future; asks for a man who has the audacity of genius; asks for a man who is the grandest combination of heart, conscience and brain beneath her flag. Such a man is James G. Blaine.

For the Republican host, led by this intrepid man, there can be no defeat.

This is a grand year—a year filled with the recollections of the Revolution; filled with proud and ten-

der memories of the past; with the sacred legends of liberty; a year in which the sons of freedom will drink from the fountains of enthusiasm; a year in which the people call for a man who has preserved in Congress what our soldiers won upon the field; a year in which they call for the man who has torn from the throat of treason the tongue of slander; for the man who has snatched the mask of Democracy from the hideous face of rebellion; for the man who, like an intellectual athlete, has stood in the arena of debate and challenged all comers, and who is still a total stranger to defeat.

Like an armed warrior, like a *plumed knight*, James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American Congress, and threw his shining lance full and fair against the brazen foreheads of the defamers of his country and the maligners of his honor.

For the Republican party to desert this gallant leader now, is as though an army should desert their general upon the field of battle.

James G. Blaine is now and has been for years the bearer of the sacred standard of the Republican party. I call it sacred, because no human being can stand beneath its folds without becoming and without remaining free.

Gentlemen of the convention, in the name of the great Republic, the only Republic that ever existed upon the earth; in the name of all her defenders and of all her supporters; in the name of all her soldiers living; in the name of all her soldiers dead upon the

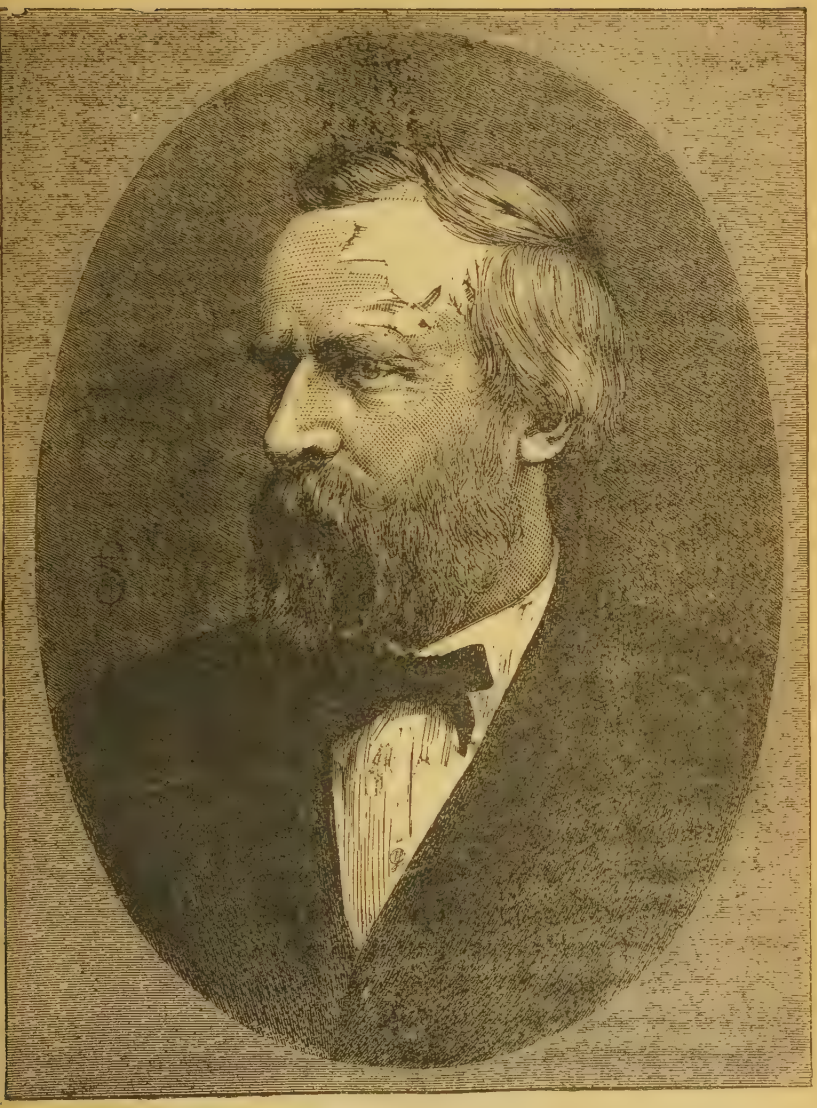
field of battle, and in the name of those who perisned in the skeleton clutch of famine at Andersonville and Libby, whose sufferings he so vividly remembers, Illinois—Illinois nominates for the next President of this country, that prince of parliamentarians—that leader of leaders—James G. Blaine.

Maine sent us to this magnificent Convention with a memory of her own salvation from impending peril fresh upon her. To you representatives of 50,000,000 of the American people who have met here to counsel how the Republic can be saved, she says, "Representatives of the people, take the man, the true man, the staunch man, for your leader, who has just saved me, and he will bring you to safety and certain victory."

RESULT OF THE BALLOTING.

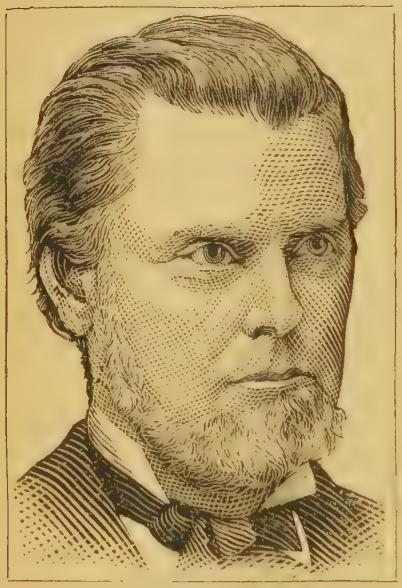
Early in Mr. Blaine's career it became an understood thing that whenever his name was mentioned in a popular assembly it would be attended with demonstrations of the wildest excitement and most enthusiastic approval. It was so on this occasion. All that has ever been said or written concerning the great uprising of thousands of people in a national convention when the name of some favorite candidate was mentioned, would fail to give an adequate description of the unparalleled scene when the "Plumed Knight" was placed in nomination.

The first ballot gave Mr. Blaine 285 votes. The whole number of votes in the convention was 756, and 379 were necessary to a choice. After the first ballot had ended all compliments to "favorite sons" the real



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

contest began. After several ballots which made it evident that neither Conkling, Morton, Bristow nor Hartranft could be nominated, the inevitable "dark horse" was trotted out, and the popular candidates were defeated. On the seventh ballot Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, received 384 votes and Mr. Blaine 351. This was an unexpected outcome of the contest, but when it became evident that none of Mr. Blaine's rivals could be nominated they united to compass his defeat. Like a solid phalanx his friends and supporters stood by him to the end.



BENJAMIN H. HILL.

HE HEARS THE NEWS.

The telegraph flashed the result of the balloting across the continent. With his accustomed coolness and self-possession Mr. Blaine was awaiting the news in Washington. A gentleman who was with him gives the following account of what transpired at Mr. Blaine's residence.

"I happened to be in his library in Washington when the balloting was going on in Cincinnati on that hot July day in 1876. A telegraph instrument was on his

library table, and Mr. Sherman, his private secretary, a deft operator, was manipulating its key. Despatches came from dozens of friends giving the last votes, which only lacked a few of a nomination, and everybody predicted the success of Blaine on the next ballot. Only four persons beside Mr. Sherman were in the room. It was a moment of great excitement. The next vote was quietly ticked over the wire, and then the next announced the nomination of Mr. Hayes.

"Mr. Blaine was the only cool person in the apartment. It was such a reversal of all anticipations and assurances that self-possession was out of the question except with Mr. Blaine. He had just left his bed after two days of unconsciousness with sunstroke, but he was as self-possessed as the portraits on the wall. He merely gave a murmur of surprise, and before anybody had recovered from the surprise, he had written, in a firm, fluent hand, three despatches—now in my possession—one to Mr. Hayes of congratulation:

"'To Gov. R. B. Hayes, Columbus, Ohio.

"'I offer you my sincerest congratulations on your nomination. It will be alike my highest pleasure as well as my first political duty to do the utmost in my power to promote your election. The earliest moments of my returning and confirmed health will be devoted to securing you as large a vote in Maine as she would have given for myself. J. G. Blaine.'

"Another despatch was sent to the Maine delegates thanking them for their devotion, and another to Eugene Hale and Mr. Frye, asking them to go personally

to Mr. Hayes, at Columbus, and present his good-will, with promises of hearty aid in the campaign. The occasion affected him no more than the news of a servant quitting his employ would have done. Half an hour afterward he was out with Secretary Fish in an open carriage, receiving the cheers of the thousands of people who were gathered about the telegraph bulletins."

ON THE STUMP.

Although Mr. Blaine had been defeated in the Convention he did not "sulk in his tent." He was too loyal to his party and country to allow his interest in political issues to cool. He did not measure his duty to the nation by his own successes or defeats. The nation is greater than any man or any party; he was a patriot, not a pretender. Men come and go; principles and ideas abide; he was enlisted in behalf of the principle, the idea, and not for the man. The man, at best, was but a representative of the thoughts and measures of the hour; not himself, but what he stood for—this was the matter of gravest concern.

Accordingly Mr. Blaine was found ardently supporting the nominees and platform of the Republican Convention. He threw his whole soul into the campaign. Immense and enthusiastic throngs attended his triumphal progress through twelve States in which he spoke, and never did king or conqueror receive a more hearty ovation than that which greeted him at every step. His audiences in some instances reached 20,000 persons; his name and portrait were

carried in bannered processions; his coming was everywhere the signal for a popular uprising, and any one not acquainted with the circumstances would have supposed he, and not another, was the presidential nominee, and everybody was going to vote for him.

SQUIRE BROWN'S HORSE.

Hon. Allen G. Thurman, of Ohio, tells an anecdote of Mr. Blaine which shows one secret of his unbounded popularity. It illustrates his marvellous memory, and his personal power over men. He had a way of making them feel he was specially interested in them; he could remember names and faces, and recall them after long periods of time. Judge Thurman's anecdote is as follows:

ALLEN G. THURMAN.

All the people of both parties turned out to hear Blaine. I have among my clients a prominent old farmer, who is one of the wealthiest men in the county. He was a good Republican and after Blaine got through speaking, and was shaking hands with everybody, I saw my old client in the

crowd looking on at the orator of the day rather interestedly.

I said to him, "Squire Brown" (that is not his name, but it will do here), "would you like to know Mr. Blaine?"

Of course he said he would; so I took him to the Maine statesman and introduced him, at the same time telling Blaine who he was. Blaine's eye was instantly caught by the handsome appearance and style of his trotters. One of them particularly pleased him, and he said to my client that the colt should be trained, as it would make a very superior trotter. Well, after a five minutes' talk, Blaine went away.

In 1880 he came into Ohio again and to my town. He spoke to an immense audience as usual. In the crowd was my old Republican client, Squire Brown. He was waiting in the outskirts of the audience, wondering if Mr. Blaine would remember him if he went to speak to him. All at once Blaine caught sight of the old man. He went straight up to him, called his name, and after a few words said:

"Squire Brown, did you ever train the near colt of that team you were driving when I was here four years ago? I have often thought of that colt, and I believe he would make a great horse if trained."

"Now," said Judge Thurman, "here was a man who had made a canvass for the Presidency, and had a nation's labor almost on his shoulders, and yet so wonderful was his memory that the least in-

cident fixed itself there and was never forgotten. I have never known any one in my day with a memory like that, and now I begin to understand why it is that Blaine's popularity is so much greater than that of any other man in his party."

CHAPTER XI.

Blaine in the United States Senate.

Mr. Blaine was appointed by the Governor of Maine, July 19, 1876, to be United States Senator to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Senator Morrill, who then became Secretary of the Treasury, and took his seat in that august body at the opening of its session in December, 1876.

Many regretted that the able Speaker of the House, the dashing and brilliant debater in Committee of the Whole, should, as they expressed it, be shelved in the Senate. Four years passed, and it would be hard to name a man who had been less securely shelved, a Senator who moved so promptly to the front. The Senate contained a large number of able men and some skillful debaters, but in logical, off-hand discussion, in quick perception and full command of every resource, it never contained a man superior to Mr. Blaine.

His career in the Senate was as active as that in the House. He took a prominent part in every important debate, and though not fearing to differ from his party, was always a strong party man, and one of the recognized leaders on the Republican side.

ADDRESS TO HIS CONSTITUENTS.

He was subsequently elected for the unexpired term and for the ensuing term expiring in 1883. On his appointment he wrote to the people of his Congressional District a farewell address, in which he said:

Beginning with 1862 you have by continuous elections sent me as your representative to the Congress of the United States. For such marked confidence I have endeavored to return the most zealous and devoted service in my power, and it is certainly not without a feeling of pain that I now surrender a trust by which I have always felt so signally honored.

It has been my boast in public and in private that no man on the floor of Congress ever represented a constituency more distinguished for intelligence, for patriotism, for public and personal virtue. The cordial support you have so uniformly given me through these fourteen eventful years is the chief honor of my life. In closing the intimate relations I have so long held with the people of this district it is a great satisfaction to me to know that with returning health I shall enter upon a field of duty in which I can still serve them in common with the larger constituency of which they form a part.

A GLOWING TRIBUTE.

The Kennebec Journal of his State, well representing the sentiment of the public in the State, said:

"Fourteen years ago, standing in the convention at which he was first nominated, Mr. Blaine pledged himself to use his best services for the district, and to

support to the best of his ability the policy of Abraham Lincoln to subdue the rebellion, and then and there expressed plainly the idea that slavery must and ought to be abolished to save the Union. That he has kept his pledge faithfully his constituents know and feel, and the records of Congress attest.

"To this district his abilities were freely given, and as he rose in honor in the House and in the public estimation he reflected honor and gave strength to the constituency that supported him. Every step he made in advance was a gain for them. It was a grand thing for this district to have as its Representative in Congress for six years the Speaker of the House, filling the place next in importance to that of President of the United States with matchless ability.

TAKES UP NEW DUTIES.

"It was a grander thing when he took the lead of the minority in the House last December, routed the Democratic majority, and drove back in dismay the ex-Confederates who were intending and expecting through the advantage they had already gained to grasp the supreme power in the Nation and wield it in the interest of the cause of secession and rebellion revived. For what he has done as their representative in Congress, never will this IIId. district of Maine forget to honor the name of James G. Blaine. It will live in the hearts of this people even as the name of Henry Clay is still loved by the people of his old district in Kentucky."

He at once entered actively upon his new official

duties, and his prestige in the House and his great popularity with the people made him a prominent figure in his new position. His progressive nature had little regard for the tradition of that body, which expects new members to listen to their elders instead of pushing forward in debates. He could not remain silent on questions upon which he was well informed, and so he at once became a debater in the Senate.

He made a strong speech in favor of restricting Chinese immigration, which was much censured and much praised, according to the point of view of his critics. He voted against the Electoral Commission bill. He opposed the Bland silver bill in a vigorous speech, and favored the coinage of an honest silver dollar. The question of the restoration of the American carrying trade upon the seas received a great deal of attention from him, and his speeches and letters on this subject attracted much attention. One of these speeches was made at a New York Chamber of Commerce dinner, and was accepted as a masterly presentation of the subject.

A PLOT FRUSTRATED.

Mr. Blaine's sagacity, coolness and wisdom as a party leader were conspicuously demonstrated in the measures he took to circumvent the Democratic plot for stealing the State Government of Maine in 1879, by fraudulently counting out Republican members of the Legislature. All the advantages, save that of being in the right, were with his opponents at the start. His supporters were eager to resort to arms as the only

means of obtaining justice, but they were restrained by him.

His plan was first to arouse public sentiment by exposing the enormity of the plot, next to tangle up his antagonists in a web of contradictions, and then, after obtaining the judgment of the Supreme Court, to seize and hold the legislative halls. It was completely successful, and the conspiracy became impotent and ridiculous.

His position on the Chinese question was the result of a thorough investigation of the subject in all its bearings, and when a conclusion had been reached, he threw all the force of his genius and ability in opposition to an unlimited immigration of those people to this country. This action made him the most popular statesman on the Pacific coast, and the people of those States gave him the most decided manifestations of their esteem and confidence. His independence of action made him friends and enemies, but apparently indifferent to personal interests or popular clamor, he boldly proclaimed and defended his convictions. He was no time-serving politician.

A STRONG PROTECTIONIST.

He never waited to ascertain the current of public opinion and then drift with it. On the contrary he was a born leader, who made public opinion, and his advanced ideas led him to the front, while his magnetism brought a host of followers. He possessed those qualities which make a military commander great, a diplomat effective, and a statesman popular. His position

on the tariff question was in strict harmony with his party, and ever since he entered the halls of legislation he advocated the doctrine of protection to labor.

In the Senate, as in the House, Mr. Blaine was a staunch advocate of a protective tariff.

On the 22d of April, 1878, he offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That any radical change in our present tariff laws, would in the judgment of the Senate, be inopportune, would needlessly derange the business interests of the country, and would seriously retard that return to prosperity for which all should earnestly co-operate.

Resolved, That in the judgment of the Senate, it should be the fixed policy of this government to so maintain our tariff for revenue as to afford adequate protection to American labor.

On the 1st of May, 1878, Mr. Blaine called up his resolutions and urged their passage in a stormy speech, which, however, was ineffectual at the time.

HIS VIEWS ON PUBLIC QUESTIONS.

In the Senate Mr. Blaine was as firm an advocate of the principles and measures of his party as he had been in the House of Representatives. There was no wavering. The old classic saying that they do not change their characters who change their skies applied to him; and he was the same man under the roof of the Senate Chamber that he was before taking his seat in that august body.

In the main he supported the policy of President

Hayes, but did not approve of the President's action in recognizing the Democratic government in some States of the South. His views were broad; his range of vision took in the whole country. Whatever was American in the highest sense of the term, whatever would advance the welfare and prosperity of the whole country, found in him an earnest advocate. Moreover, he boldly proclaimed his belief in popular rights, the rights of the whole people; these were not to be trampled down by any false theory of State sovereignty.

SPEECH ON CHINESE IMMIGRATION.

Mr. Blaine's speech on the Chinese question attracted wide attention. A bill had been introduced restricting the number of Chinamen on incoming vessels to fifteen, and otherwise placing obstructions in the way of a wholesale introduction of this class of foreigners into the United States. It was one of the important questions of the hour, as it is still. Mr. Blaine heartily supported this bill. His speech was so masterly and comprehensive, that it is here reproduced nearly entire:

As I said, the Chinese question is not new. We have had it here very often, and proceeding somewhat to the second branch, I lay down this principle, that, so far as my vote is concerned, I will not admit a man to immigration to this country that I am not willing to place on the basis of a citizen. Let me repeat that. We ought not to admit to this country of universal suffrage the immigration of a great people,

great in numbers, whom we ourselves declare to be utterly unfit to become citizens.

What do you say on that point? In the Senate of the United States, on the fourth of July, 1870, a patriotic day, we were amending the naturalization laws. We had made all the negroes of the United States voters practically; at least we had said they should not be deprived of suffrage by reason of race or color. We had admitted them all, and we then amended the naturalization laws so that the gentleman from Africa himself could become a citizen of the United States; and an immigrant from Africa to-morrow, from the coast of Guinea or Senegambia, can be naturalized and made an American citizen. The Senator Trumbull moved to add: "Or persons born in the Chinese empire."

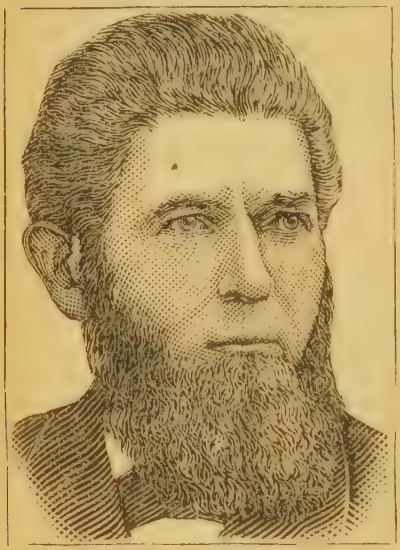
THOMAS F. BAYARD.

He said: "I have offered this amendment so as to bring the distinct question before the Senate, whether they will vote to naturalize persons from Africa, and vote to refuse to naturalize those who come from

China. I ask for the yeas and nays on my amendment."

WHO THEY WERE.

The yeas and nays were as follows on the question of whether we would ever admit a Chinaman to be come an American citizen. The yeas were: Messrs. Fenton, Fowler, McDonald, Pomeroy, Rice, Robertson, Sprague, Sumner, and Trumbull —9.



JAMES F. WILSON.

The nays were: Messrs. Bayard, Boreman, Chandler, Conkling, Corbett, Cragin, Drake, Gilbert, Hamilton, of Maryland, Hamlin, Harlan, Howe, McCreery, Morrill, of Vermont, Morton, Nye, Osborn, Ramsey, Saulsbury, Sawyer, Scott, Stewart, Stockton, Thayer, Thurman, Tipton, Vickers, Warner, Wiley, Williams, and Wilson—31.

My friend from Rhode Island [Mr. Anthony] and the honorable Chairman of the Judiciary Committee [Mr. Edmunds] are put among the absent, but there was a vote of 31 against 9 in a Senate three-fourths Republican, declaring that the Chinaman never ought to be made a citizen. I think that settles the whole

question, if that was a correct vote, because you cannot in our system of government as it is to-day, with safety to all, permit a large immigration of people who are not to be made citizens and take part in the government. The Senator from California tells us that already the male adult Chinese in California are more numerous than the white voters. I take him as an authority from his own State, and I should expect him to take my statement about my own State.

THE DILEMMA.

It seems to me that if we adopt as a permanent policy the free immigration of those who, by overwhelming votes in both branches of Congress, we say shall forever remain political and social pariahs in a great free government, we have introduced an element that we cannot handle. You cannot stop where we are; you are compelled to do one of two things—either exclude the immigration of Chinese or include them in the great family of citizens.

Well, what about the question of numbers? Did it ever occur to my honorable friend from Ohio that the vast myriads of millions almost, as you might call them, the incalculable hordes in China, are much nearer to the Pacific coast of the United States, in point of money and passage, in point of expense of reaching it, than the people of Kansas? A man in Shanghai or Hong-Kong can be delivered at San Francisco more cheaply than a man in Omaha now. I do not speak of the Atlantic coast, where the population is still more dense; but you may take the Mississippi valley, Illinois,

Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Missouri, all the great Commonwealths of that valley, and they are, in point of expense, further off from the Pacific slope than the vast hordes in China and Japan.

CHEAP TRANSPORTATION.

I am told by those who are familiar with the commercial affairs of the Pacific side that a person can be sent from any of the great Chinese ports to San Francisco for something over $30. I suppose in an emigrant train over the Pacific Railroad from Omaha, not to speak of the expense of reaching Omaha, but from that point alone, it would cost $50 per head, and that would be cheap railroad fare as things go in this country. So that in point of practicability—in point of getting there—the Chinaman to-day has an advantage over an American laborer in any part of the country, except in the case of those who are already on the Pacific coast.

Ought we to exclude them? The question lies in my mind thus: either the Anglo-Saxon race will possess the Pacific slope or the Mongolians will possess it. You give them the start to-day with the keen thrust of necessity behind them, and with the ease of transportation before them, with the inducements to come, while we are filling up the other portions of the continent, and it is entirely inevitable, if not demonstrable, that they will occupy that great space of country between the Sierras and the Pacific coast. They are themselves to-day establishing steamship lines; they are themselves to-day providing the means of trans-

portation; and when gentlemen say that we admit from all other countries, where do you find the slightest parallel? And in a Republic especially, in any government that maintains itself, the unit of order and of administration is in the family.

A DISCORDANT ELEMENT.

The immigrants that come to us from all portions of the British Isles, from Germany, from Norway, from France, from Spain, from Italy, come here with the idea of the family as much engraven on their minds and in their customs and in their habits as we have it. The Asiatic cannot go on with our population and make a homogeneous element. The idea of comparing European immigration with an immigration that has no regard to family, that does not recognize the relation of husband and wife, that does not observe the tie of parent and child, that does not have in the slightest degree the ennobling and the civilizing influences of the hearthstone and the fireside, why, when gentlemen talk loosely about emigration from European states as contrasted with that, they certainly are forgetting history and forgetting themselves.

There has not been from the outset any immigration of Chinese in the sense in which immigration comes to us from Europe. It has all been "under contract" and through agencies, and if not in every respect of the Coolie type, the entire immigration from China has had the worst and most demoralizing features of Coolieism. The Burlingame treaty specially "reprobated any other than an *entirely voluntary* immigration," and yet from

the first Chinaman that came, in 1848, to the last one that landed in San Francisco, it is safe to say that not one in one hundred came in an "entirely voluntary" manner.

THEIR NUMBERS.

Up to October, 1876, the records of the San Francisco Custom-House show that 233,136 Chinese had arrived in this country, and that 93,273 had returned to China. The immigration since has been quite large, and allowing for returns and deaths, the best statistics I can procure show that about 100,000 Chinese are in California and from 20,000 to 25,000 in the adjacent Pacific States and Territories.

Of this large population fully nine-tenths are adult males. The women have not in all numbered over seven thousand, and, according to all accounts, they are impure and lewd far beyond the Anglo-Saxon conception of impurity and lewdness. One of the best-informed Californians I ever met says that not one score of decent and pure women could ever have been found in the whole Chinese immigration.

It is only in the imagined, rather I hope the unimagined, feculence and foulness of Sodom and Gomorrah that any parallel can be found to the atrocious nastiness of the Chinese quarter of San Francisco. I speak of this from abounding testimony—largely from those who have had personal opportunity to study the subject in its revolting details.

In the entire Chinese population of the Pacific coast scarcely one family is to be found; no hearthstone of

comfort, no fireside of joy; no father nor mother, nor brother nor sister; no child reared by parents; no domestic and ennobling influences; no ties of affection. The relation of wife is degraded beyond all description, the females holding and dishonoring that sacred name being sold and transferred from one man to another, without shame and without fear; one woman being at the same time the wife to several men.

NOT FIT TO BE ADMITTED.

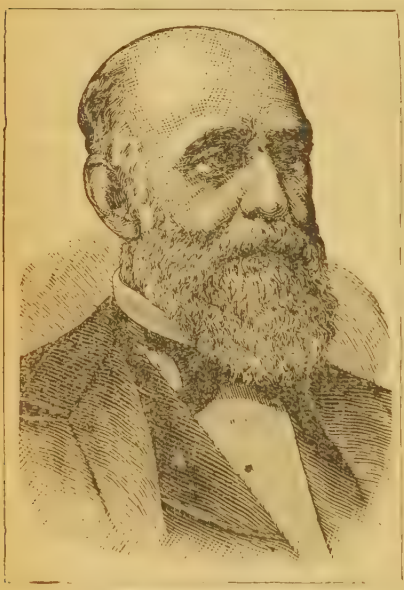
Many of these women came to San Francisco under written contracts for prostitution, openly and shamelessly entered into. I have myself read the translation of some of these abominable documents. If as a nation we have the right to keep out infectious diseases, if we have the right to exclude the criminal classes from coming to us, we surely possess the right to exclude that immigration which reeks with impurity, and which cannot come to us without plenteously sowing the seeds of moral and physical disease, destitution and death.

The Chinese immigration to California began with the American immigration in 1848. The two races have been side by side for more than thirty years, nearly an entire generation, and not one step toward assimilation has been taken. The Chinese occupy their own peculiar quarter in the city, adhere to their own dress, speak their own language, worship in their own heathen temples, and, inside the municipal law and independent of it, administer a code among them-

selves, even pronouncing the death penalty, and executing it in criminal secrecy.

ALWAYS THE SAME CHINAMAN.

If this were for a year only, or for two, or five, or even ten years, it might be claimed that more time was needed for domestication and assimilation; but this has been going on for an entire generation, and the Chinaman to-day approaches no nearer to our civilization than he did when the Golden Gate first received him. In sworn testimony before an investigating committee of Congress, Dr. Mears, the health officer of San Francisco, described as "a careful and learned man," testified that the condition of the Chinese quarter is "horrible, inconceivably horrible."



GEORGE F. EDMUNDS.

He stated that the Chinese as a rule "live in large tenement houses, large numbers crowded into individual rooms, without proper ventilation, with bad drainage, and underground, with a great deal of filth, the odors from which are horrible." He described their "mode of taking a room ten feet high and putting a

flooring half-way to the ceiling, both floors being crowded at night with sleepers. In these crowded dens cases of small-pox were concealed from the police." "They live underground in bunks. The topography of that portion of Chinadom is such that you enter a house sometimes and think that it is a one-story house, and you will find two or three stories down below on the side of the hill, where they live in great filth."

Another close and accurate observer, a resident of California, says: "The only wonder is that desolating pestilences have not ensued. Small-pox has often been epidemic, and could always be traced to Chinese origin. The Chinese quarter was once occupied by shops, churches, and dwellings of Americans. Now these are as thoroughly Mongolian as any part of Canton. All other races flee from the contact."

A HIDEOUS RABBLE.

Dr. Mears further testified and gave many revolting details in proof that the Chinese "are cruel and indifferent to their sick." He described cases of Chinese lepers at the city hospital: "Their feet dropped off by dry gangrene and their hands were wasted and attenuated. Their finger-nails dropped off." He said the Chinese were gradually working eastward, and would by-and-by crowd into Eastern cities, where the conditions under which they live in San Francisco would produce, in the absence of its climatic advantages, destructive pestilence.

Perhaps a Chinese quarter in Boston, with forty

thousand Mongolians located somewhere between the south end and the north end of the city and separating the two would give Mr. Garrison some new views as to the power and right of a nation to exclude moral and physical pestilence from its borders. In San Francisco there is no hot weather, the thermometer rarely rising above 65°. One of the most intelligent physicians in the United States says that the Chinese quarter of San Francisco transferred to Saint Louis, Chicago, Cincinnati, or any Eastern city, would in a hot summer breed a plague equal to the "black death" that is now alarming the civilized world.

A LIBEL ON WHITE PEOPLE.

When Mr. Garrison says that the immigration of Englishmen, Irishmen, Scotchmen, Frenchmen, Germans, and Scandinavians, must be put on the same footing as the Chinese Coolies, he confounds all distinctions, and, of course without intending it, libels almost the entire white population whose blood is inherited from the races he names. All the immigration from Europe to-day assimilates at once with its own blood on this soil, and to place the Chinese Coolies on the same footing is to shut one's eyes to all the instincts of human nature and all the teachings of history.

Is it not inevitable that a class of men living in this degraded and filthy condition, and on the poorest of food, can work for less than the American laborer is entitled to receive for his daily toil? Put the two classes of labor side by side, and the cheap servile

labor pulls down the more manly toil to its level. The free white laborer never could compete with slave labor of the South. In the Chinaman the white laborer finds only another form of servile competition—in some aspects more revolting and corrupting than African slavery. Whoever contends for the unrestricted immigration of Chinese Coolies contends for that system of toil which blights the prospects of the white laborer—dooming him to starvation wages, killing his ambition by rendering his struggle hopeless, and ending in a plodding and pitiless poverty.

IMMINENT DANGER.

Nor is it a truthful answer to say that this danger is remote. Remote it may be for Mr. Garrison, for Boston, for New England, but it is instant and pressing on the Pacific slope. Already the Chinese male adults on that coast are well-nigh as numerous as the white voters of California, and it is conceded that a Chinese emigrant can be placed in San Francisco for one-half the amount required to transport a man from the Mississippi valley to the Pacific coast, and for one-third what it requires for a New Yorker or a New Englander to reach California or Oregon.

The late Caleb Cushing, who had carefully studied the Chinese question, ever since his mission to Pekin in 1842, maintained that, unless resisted by the United States, the first general famine in China would be followed by an immigration to California that would swamp the white race. I observe that a New England newspaper—I specially regret that such ignorance

should be shown in New England—says it is only "a strip" on the Pacific that the Chinaman seeks for a home. The Chinese are already scattered in three States and two adjacent Territories, whose area is larger than the original thirteen Colonies. California alone is larger than New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, and is capable of maintaining a vast population of Anglo-Saxon freemen, if we do not surrender it to Chinese Coolies.

LEGIONS OF THEM.

Before the same committee of investigation from whose report I have already quoted, Mr. T. W. Jackson, a man of high character, who had traveled extensively in the East, testified that his strong belief was "that if the Chinese felt that they were safe and had a firm footing in California, they would come in enormous numbers, because the population of China is practically inexhaustible." Such, indeed, is the unbroken testimony of all who are entitled to express an opinion.

The decision of Congress on this matter, therefore, becomes of the very last importance. Had it been in favor of Chinese immigration, with the encouragement and protection which that would have implied, it requires no vivid imagination to foresee that the great slope between the Sierras and the Pacific would become thee immigrating ground for the Chinese empire. So that I do not at all exaggerate when I say that on the adoption or rejection of the policy passed upon by Congress hangs the fate of the Pacific slope—whether its labor shall be that of American freemen or servile

Mongolians. If Mr. Garrison thinks the interests of his own countrymen, his own government, and, in a still larger sense, the interests of humanity and civilization, will be promoted by giving up the Pacific to Mongolian labor, I beg respectfully but firmly to differ from him.

A LAW HIGHER THAN CHARITY.

There is no ground on which we are bound to receive them to our own detriment. Charity is the first of Christian graces. But Mr. Garrison would not feel obliged to receive into his family a person that would physically contaminate or morally corrupt his children. As with a family, so with a nation; the same instinct of self-preservation exists, the same right to prefer the interests of our own people, the same duty to exclude that which is corrupting and dangerous to the Republic.

The outcry that we are violating our treaty obligations is without any foundation. The article on emigration in the treaty has not been observed by China for a single hour since it was made. All the testimony taken on the subject—and it has been full and copious—shows conclusively that the entire emigration was "under contract"; that the Coolies had been gathered together for export, and gathered as agents in our Western States would gather live-stock for shipment.

THE "HIGH-BINDERS."

A very competent witness in California, speaking to this point, says:

"On the arrival of the Chinese in California they are consigned like hogs to the different Chinese companies, their contracts are viséd, and the Coolie commences to pay to the companies fees to insure care if he is taken sick and his return home dead or alive. His return is prevented until after his contract has been entirely fulfilled. If he breaks his contract the spies of the six companies hunt him to prevent his returning to China, by arrangement with the steamship company or their agents in the steamship employ to prevent his getting a ticket. The agents of the steamship companies testified to this same fact. If a ticket is obtained for him by others he is forcibly stopped on the day of sailing by employees of the six companies, called 'high-binders,' who can always be seen guarding the Coolies."

Mr. Joseph J. Ray, a Philadelphia merchant, long resident in China, and a close observer of its emigration, says "that $\frac{999}{1000}$ of the Chinese who have reached our shores were not free agents in their coming. Files of the Hong-Kong newspapers from 1861 would supply information regarding the 'barracoons' at that port, and when the system had become too great a scandal, their removal to Macao (a Portuguese colony, forty miles distant), in which 'barracoons' the Chinese, in every sense prisoners, were retained until their shipment to San Francisco, Callao, Havana, etc. These, called by courtesy emigrants, were collected from within a radius of two or three hundred miles from Canton, and consisted of the abjectly poor, who,

willing or not, were sold to obtain food for their families, or for gambling debts (the Chinese, as you are aware, being inveterate gamblers), or the scapegraces of the country, fleeing to avoid punishment."

A BROKEN TREATY.

It is, of course, a mere misuse of terms to call this an "entirely voluntary emigration," and yet none other was permissible under the Burlingame treaty. Our Government would be clearly justified in disregarding the treaty on the single ground that the Chinese Government had never respected its provisions. But without any reference to that, our Government possesses the right to abrogate the treaty if it judges that its continuance is "pernicious to the State." Indeed, the two pending propositions in the Senate differed not in regard to our own right to abrogate the treaty, but simply as to whether we should do it in July, 1879, by the exercise of our power without further notice to China, or whether we should do it in January, 1880, after notifying China that we had made up our minds to do it.

Nearly a year ago Congress by joint resolution expressed its discontent with the existing treaty, and thus clearly gave notice to the civilized world—if notice were needful—of the desire and intention of our people. In the late action of Congress the opposing proposition—moved as a substitute for the bill to which I gave my support—requested the President to notify the Emperor of China that Chinese immigration is "unsatisfactory and pernicious," and in effect if he

would not modify the treaty as we desired, then the President should notify the Emperor that after January 1, 1880, the United States will "treat the obnoxious stipulations as at an end."

AMERICAN RIGHTS.

Both propositions—the bill that we passed and the substitute that we rejected—assumed alike the full right to abrogate the treaty. Whether it were better to abrogate it after last year's joint resolution, or to inform the Emperor of China directly that if he would not consent to the change "we would make it anyhow," must be relegated for decision to the schools of taste and etiquette. The first proposition resting on our clear constitutional power seemed to me a better mode of proceeding than to ask the Emperor of China to consent to a modification, and informing him at the same time that, whether he consented or not, we would on next New Year's day treat "the obnoxious stipulations as at an end." As to the power of Congress to do just what has been done, no one will entertain a doubt who examines the whole question. An admirable summary of the right and power is found in an opinion delivered by that eminent jurist, Benjamin R. Curtis, when he was a judge of the United States Supreme Court.

OPINION OF JUDGE CURTIS.

Judge Curtis said: "It cannot be admitted that the only method of escape from a treaty is by the consent of the other party to it or a declaration of war. To refuse to execute a treaty for reasons which approve

themselves to the conscientious judgment of a nation is a matter of the utmost gravity ; *but the power to do so is a prerogative of which no nation can be deprived without deeply affecting its independence.* That the people of the United States have deprived their government of this power I do not believe. That it must reside somewhere, and be applicable *to all cases,* I am convinced, *and I feel no doubt that it belongs to Congress.*"

A great deal has been said about the danger to our trade if China should resort to some form of retaliation. The natural and pertinent retaliation is to restrict American immigration to China. Against that we will enter no protest, and should have no right to do so. The talk about China closing her ports to our trade is made only by those who do not understand the question. Last year the total amount of our exports to all Chinese ports outside of Hong-Kong, was about $692,000. I have called Hong-kong a Chinese port, but every child knows it is under British control, and if we were at war with China to-day Hong-kong would be as open to us as Liverpool.

AN EMPTY THREAT.

To speak of China punishing us by suspending trade is only the suggestion of dense ignorance. We pay China an immense balance in coin, and probably we always shall do it. But if the trade question had the importance which some have erroneously attributed to it, I would not seek its continuance by permitting a vicious immigration of Chinese Coolies. The Bristol merchants cried out that commerce would be ruined

if England persisted in destroying the slave trade. But history does not record that England sacrificed her honor by yielding to the cry.

The enlightened religious sentiment of the Pacific coast views with profound alarm the tendency and effect of unrestricted Chinese immigration. The "pastors and delegates of the Congregational churches of California" a year since expressed their "conviction" that "the Burlingame treaty ought to be so modified *by the General Government* as to restrict Chinese immigration."

PORTENTOUS EVILS.

Rev. S. V. Blakeslee, editor of the oldest religious paper on the Pacific coast, spoke thus in an official address:

"Moreover, wealthy English and American companies have organized great money-making plans for bringing millions—it is true—even millions—of these Chinese into our State, and into all parts of the Union; and they have sent out emissaries into China to induce the people, by every true and false story, to migrate here. Already *two hundred and fifty thousand* have come, of whom *one hundred thousand* remain.

"The tendency of all this is tremendously toward evil; toward vice and abomination; toward all opposed to the true spirit of Americanism, and is very dangerous to our morality, to our stability, and to our success as a people and a nation. Millions more of these Chinese must come if not prevented by any legal, or moral, or mobocratic restraint, increasing incalcu-

lably by numbers the evils already existing, while a spirit of race prejudices and clanship jealousies and a conflict of interests must be developed, portending possible evil beyond all description."

CHINESE HEATHENISM.

In regard to the process of converting and Christianizing this people, a missionary who has been in the field since 1849 testifies that not one in a thousand has even nominally professed a change from heathenism, and that of this small number nearly one-half had been taught in missionary schools in China. The same missionary says: "As they come in still larger numbers they will more effectually support each other in their national peculiarities and vices, become still more confirmed in heathen immoralities, with an influence in every respect incalculably bad." Under what possible sense of duty any American can feel that he promotes Christianity by the process of handing California over to heathenism is more than I am able to discover.

I have heard a good deal about their cheap labor. I do not myself believe in cheap labor. I do not believe cheap labor should be an object of legislation, and it will not be in a republic. You cannot have the wealthy classes in a republic where suffrage is universal legislate for cheap labor. I undertake to repeat that. I say that you cannot have the wealthy classes in a republic where suffrage is universal legislate in what is called the interest of cheap labor. Labor should not be cheap, and it should not be dear; it should have its share, and it will have its share.

There is not a laborer on the Pacific coast to-day, I say that to my honorable colleague—whose whole life has been consistent and uniform in defense and advocacy of the interests of the laboring classes—there is not a laboring man on the Pacific coast to-day who does not feel wounded and grieved and crushed by the competition that comes from this source.

CHEAP LABOR.

Then the answer is: "Well, are not American laborers equal to Chinese laborers?" I answer that question by asking another. Were not free white laborers equal to African slaves in the South? When you tell me that the Chinaman driving out the free American labor only proves the superiority of the Chinaman, I ask you, Did the African slave labor driving out the free white labor from the South prove the superiority of slave labor? The conditions are not unlike; the parallel is not complete, and yet it is a parallel.

It is servile labor; it is not free labor such as we intend to develop and encourage and build up in this country. It is labor that comes here under a mortgage. It is labor that comes here to subsist on what the American laborer cannot subsist on. You cannot work a man who must have beef and bread, and would prefer beer, alongside of a man who can live on rice. It cannot be done. In all such conflicts and in all such struggles the result is not to bring up the man who lives on rice to the beef-and-bread standard, but it is to bring down the beef-and-bread man to the rice standard.

Slave labor degraded free labor; it took out its respectability; it put an odious cast upon it.

THE CAUSE OF HONEST TOIL.

It throttled the prosperity of a fine and fair portion of the United States; and a worse than slave labor will throttle and impair the prosperity of a still finer and fairer section of the United States. We can choose here to-day whether our legislation shall be in the interest of the American free laborer or for the servile laborer from China.

I feel and know that I am pleading the cause of the free American laborer and of his children and of his children's children. It has been well said that it is the cause of "the house against the hovel; of the comforts of the freeman against the squalor of the slave." It has been charged that my position would arraign labor-saving machinery and condemn it. This answer is not only superficial; it is also absurd. Labor-saving machinery has multiplied the power to pay, has developed new wants, and has continually enlarged the area of labor and constantly advanced the wages of the laborer. But servile toil has always dragged free labor to its lowest level, and has stripped it of one muniment after another until it was helpless and hopeless. Whenever that condition comes to the free laborer of America, the Republic of equal rights is gone, and we shall live under the worst of oligarchies —that of mere wealth, whose profit only measures the wretchedness of the unpaid toilsmen that produce it.

HIS VIEWS ON THE SILVER BILL.

Mr. Blaine's views on the coinage of silver were equally pronounced, and were expressed with similar force and clearness.

When the Senate considered the bill authorizing the free coinage of the standard silver dollar, and to restore its legal tender character, he offered a substitute for the bill, containing three propositions, as he states in these words:

1. That the dollar shall contain four hundred and twenty-five grains of standard silver, shall have unlimited coinage, and be an unlimited legal tender.

2. That all profits of coinage shall go to the government, and not to the operator in silver bullion.

3. That silver dollars or silver bullion, assayed and mint-stamped, may be deposited with the assistant treasurer of New York, for which coin certificates may be issued, the same in denomination as United States notes, not below ten dollars, and that these shall be redeemable on demand in coin or bullion, thus furnishing a paper circulation based on an actual deposit of precious metal, giving us notes as valuable as those of the Bank of England, and doing away at once with the dreaded inconvenience of silver on account of bulk and weight.

EXCESSIVE PAPER MONEY.

Mr. Blaine presented his views on the Silver Question in a rather lengthy and very able speech, on the day he offered his substitute, which was February 7, 1878. The concluding portion of his speech read thus:

The effect of paying the labor of this country in silver coin of full value, as compared with the irredeemable paper, or as compared even with silver of inferior value, will make itself felt in a single generation to the extent of tens of millions, perhaps hundreds of millions, in the aggregate savings which represent consolidated capital. It is the instinct of man, from the savage to the scholar—developed in childhood and remaining with age—to value the metals which in all tongues are called precious. Excessive paper money leads to extravagance, to waste, and to want, as we painfully witness on all sides to-day. And in the midst of the proof of its demoralizing and destructive effect, we hear it proclaimed in the halls of Congress that "the people demand cheap money." I deny it. I declare such a phrase to be a total misapprehension—a total misinterpretation of the popular wish.

SILVER ALWAYS CURRENT.

The people do not demand cheap money. They demand an abundance of good money, which is an entirely different thing. They do not want a single gold standard, that will exclude silver and benefit those already rich. They do not want an inferior silver standard, that will drive out gold and not help those already poor. They want both metals, in full value, in equal honor, in whatever abundance the bountiful earth will yield them to the searching eye of science and to the hard hand of labor.

The two metals have existed, side by side, in harmonious, honorable companionship as money, ever

since intelligent trade was known among men. It is well-nigh forty centuries since "Abraham weighed to Ephron four hundred shekels of silver—current money with the merchant." Since that time nations have risen and fallen, races have disappeared, dialects and languages have been forgotten, arts have been lost, treasures have perished, continents have been discovered, islands have been sunk in the sea, and through all these ages and through all these changes silver and gold have reigned supreme as the representation of value, as the media of exchange. The dethronement of each has been attempted in turn, and sometimes the dethronement of both; but always in vain! And we are here to-day, deliberating anew over the problem which comes down to us from Abraham's time—*the weight of the silver* that shall be "current money with the merchant."

STOOD UP FOR AMERICA.

It was a prominent part of the policy of Mr. Blaine, in public life, to stand armed against the undue domination of foreign states in the affairs of America. He consistently and persistently denied the right of any foreign state to exercise a control over questions purely American. Whenever a measure was sprung, touching the strict independence of the country, Blaine was found with drawn sword ready to repel the assault. This policy led him, not infrequently, to take the arena in opposition to measures which he deemed likely to affect unfairly the high rank of the American Republic.

It was this principle of action which brought him into prominence during the debate in the Senate on the Halifax Fishery Award, in 1878. He was one of the most indignant of all at what he deemed the treachery and overreaching of Great Britain in that matter. Finally consenting to accept the report of the Committee on Foreign Relations, he nevertheless left on record a ringing protest against some of the principles and facts involved in the controversy. On the first of June he delivered an address in the Senate, the spirit of which may be inferred from the following extract:

A ONE-SIDED TREATY.

Mr. President, I shall support the report made by the Committee on Foreign Relations, although I wish that some amendments could be made to it. But I do not concur in what was implied in the remarks of the Senator from Ohio, on this subject, that Great Britain had discharged her duties under this treaty with exemplary fidelity, and that we were in danger of not following a good example.

I maintain that from the first, throughout the whole of the treaty—and I know I am taking what has not been heretofore a popular side, or the generally accepted version—it has been a treaty of a singularly one-sided character, in which, as I shall show, the entire advantage was gained by Great Britain, and in the parts that she has not esteemed it to be her interest to fulfil it, she has declined to fulfil it. Up to this day one of the most important parts of the

treaty has been evaded, and its fulfilment refused by Great Britain.

Let me explain. When the Joint High Commission came to consider what were known as the Alabama Claims, they agreed upon three rules which Great Britain diplomatically disavowed through her commissioners to have been accepted rules of international law at the time, but said that they would agree to them as the basis of a settlement, and they might go before the tribunal as if they had been in force as principles of international law at the time of their alleged infraction. Then Great Britain and the United States, in binding themselves to the observance of these rules in future, assumed another mutual obligation in this clause of the treaty:

"And the high contracting parties agree to observe these rules between themselves in future, and to bring them to the knowledge of the other maritime powers and to invite them to accede to them."

Unless I am entirely misinformed, and I think I am

A BRITISH REFUSAL.

correctly informed, Great Britain has refused up to this time, and it has been seven years this month since the treaty was perfected, to join with the United States in asking the other maritime powers to agree to those rules.

I have ground for believing this statement to be substantially, if not literally, true, and if the Senate will support me in a resolution which I shall offer, we shall find out, authentically, that Mr. Fish, lately

Secretary of State, advised Great Britain that, refusing to join with the United States in proposing these rules for other maritime powers, the United States would be justified in treating them as a nullity. I do not pretend at all to be inside of the secrets and aims and purposes of British diplomacy, but I do know that having got those three rules which bind us very tightly which make us keep a very sharp police on fifteen thousand miles of ocean front that encircle our own dominions, and hold us accountable for any privateers or depredators or "Alabamas," or any sort of cruisers that may get out in case Great Britain goes to war with Russia, as is now possible if not probable (I hope not even probable), and makes us accountable in damages afterward for any losses thus resulting to her subjects—that while she holds us thus closely under the three rules, she has not asked another nation in all Europe to be bound by those rules; she has refused to join the United States in asking the maritime powers to accept them and be bound by them. I do not believe in having one part of the treaty quoted on us to the letter "which killeth," and then to have the part which does not exactly comport with the interest of Great Britain, absolutely slurred over and denied.

I repeat, I do not pretend to see any further through secret and hidden motives than anybody else, and I do not pretend to know, much less do I pretend to state, what the motive of Great Britain is, although I have heard it, and I have heard it was because the

government of the German Empire objected to these rules being made general in Europe.

SOME THINGS WE OUGHT TO KNOW.

At all events it is known, and we ought to know here authentically—and it would be some advantage to know it before we pass on the measure—we ought to know authentically what has transpired between this government and the government of Great Britain with regard to these three rules, which were so finely chiseled and so closely drawn and so narrowly constructed that when we got into the tribunal, at Geneva, we were practically powerless. When confessedly the aid and support of Great Britain to the rebellion had been hundreds of millions of dollars of damage to this country; when they swept our mercantile marine, two-thirds of it, out of existence; when their aid and countenance to the Confederacy had destroyed one of the great leading interests of the United States, we consented to such a narrow construction of these three rules as absolutely cut us down to fifteen and a half million dollars for damages, and Great Britain at once gets seven and a half millions of that back—two millions on the Washington Claims Commission, of 1871–72, and now five and a half millions more on this fishery award.

So, when the Senator from Ohio holds up the example of Great Britain to us to imitate in this matter, I beg him to observe what Great Britain's course has been in regard to this part of the treaty. It was Great Britain's highest interest to pay the Geneva award,

She never paid fifteen million dollars in her life that was so good an investment as that was under the circumstances.

ENGLAND GETS MORE THAN SHE GIVES.

Whether we can find anybody, under the narrow rules that were laid down, that is a lawful claimant for the money awarded us at Geneva, is quite another thing; that is for us to determine; but Great Britain herself gained the incalculable advantage of making us a practical ally to her, willing or unwilling, in all her contests with European powers. The Russians are watched by every form of observation if they land on the coast of Maine, or if they buy a vessel in New York or Philadelphia; and the moment there is a declaration of war, instead of Great Britain doing the watching, we shall be compelled, under the three rules, to do it ourselves.

We shall be forced on the anxious-seat, and if a Russian vessel should escape from our coast, and Great Britain could show that we have not used due diligence, we are to be responsible in the amounts of money that may result from her depredations on British commerce. Great Britain gets all these vast advantages out of us, and then refuses, as I say, for some reason, and continues to refuse, up to this time, to agree that other maritime nations, in whose adoption of these three rules we might have very great interests, shall act on them—refuses even to submit them, as the treaty bound her to do—and she has permitted seven years to go by without so much as uniting with

us in asking a single European power to accept them.

A HISTORIC REVIEW.

Now, let us go back a little, inasmuch as we are discussing this subject generally, as the Senator from Ohio has introduced it. When the war broke out, in 1861, Mr. Seward, through our minister at the Court of St. James, Mr. Adams, immediately proposed that the United States should become a party to the treaty of Paris, to which there had been forty-six or forty-seven nations of the earth already parties, to suppress privateering. Lord John Russell, recently deceased, apparently received the proposition with the utmost complaisance, and agreed to it; and after the agreement was made, and we thought the treaty was about to become a regular convention between the two governments, he put in a condition that it should not at all affect the existing relations between Great Britain and the Confederate States, or that the question should not in the least degree be affected by the relations of any internal dissensions in the United States; in other words, that if we lived to survive the Rebellion in the United States, the very time when we should not need the advantage of this treaty, we might enjoy it; but that, pending that, we should not have any advantage from it at all.

WHAT SEWARD SAID.

And the British Government would not agree, on the other hand, that if any disturbance should take place in any part of the British Empire, we should not

be similarly bound as England was then. Let me read just what Mr. Seward said on that point:

"The proposed declaration is inadmissible, among other reasons, because it is not mutual. It proposes a special rule by which her majesty's obligations shall be meliorated in their bearing upon internal difficulties now prevailing in the United States, while the obligations to be assumed by the United States shall not be similarly meliorated, or at all affected in their bearing on internal differences that may now be prevailing or may hereafter arise and prevail in Great Britain."

The whole of it was one-sided. And now I will give the honorable Senator from Ohio a very substantial reason why the government of the United States ought to proceed to the payment of the fishery award in a different manner from that which the government of Great Britain adopted with reference to the Geneva award.

The struggles between the Dominion of Canada, or that which now constitutes the Dominion of Canada, the British-American provinces, and the United States, for reciprocal relations of trade and commerce, have been troublesome questions for eighty years, and every time we have attempted to adjust them, the fisheries have been put forward as the stumbling-block in the way of a fair agreement; and the payment of the five and a half millions settles the question for only twelve years, and then it is all open again.

But, on the other hand, the fifteen and a half millions, paid in pursuance of the Geneva award, closed

that account for all time; or, if it left it open at all, it left it open with the three rules operating in Great Britain's favor. But let us pay this five and a half millions, as the honorable Senator from Ohio invites us to do; let us walk up without saying one word, and pay this five and a half millions of dollars to Great Britain, and what is the result? It is inevitably accepted by the government of Great Britain as a concession on the part of the government of the United States, as a just measure of value of those fishery privileges, and any subsequent notice that we might give, six or eight years hence, would be treated as an afterthought.

DON'T GO TOO FAST.

If we do not make that point at this time, we lose all the advantage of making it at all; and if we now pay that money without in some form emphatically entering our dissent from it as a just measure of the value of the fisheries, we are estopped from ever pleading it hereafter, and we shall have committed ourselves to the conclusion that those fisheries, in reciprocal arrangements for trade between the Dominion of Canada and the United States, are to be reckoned as of the value of a half million dollars per annum *bonus* from the United States, in addition to the admission of Canadian fish free of duty to our markets.

This question, Mr. President, has some sectional and local relation, I know. We are much more affected by it where I come from than are the people where the Senator from Ohio comes from. It is a

matter of daily, very pressing interest with us, and we know very well that if we sit still here and consent to this award being accepted publicly as a just measure of value, we can never have the trade between the Dominion of Canada and the United States regulated thereafter upon any fair, equitable, amicable basis.

CHAPTER XII.

Blaine as Secretary of State.

In 1880 Mr. Blaine was a candidate for the nomination for the Presidency. The movement to make him the nominee of his party was not manufactured, not in any sense "worked up," but was spontaneous throughout the country. The general voice of his party named him for the high honor. He did not have to creep and crawl to obtain supporters. When the public eye swept around the horizon in search of a great leader in the approaching campaign, his commanding figure towered up in stately proportions and caught the gaze of the multitude.

The National Convention was held at Chicago on June 2d. A strong minority of the delegates favored General Grant for a third term; the leaders were Senators Conkling, Cameron and Logan. These astute chieftains used all the arts of persuasion and diplomacy in favor of their choice. Like a solid wall the Grant men stood, without break or wavering, until the final vote was declared.

John Sherman, of Ohio, was another candidate, and a very respectable number of the delegates gave him their votes. The third candidate was Mr. Blaine,

whose supporters were extremely aggressive and enthusiastic. These three names were borne to the front amidst a contest seldom equalled for courage

JAMES A. GARFIELD.

and generalship. The country waited with intense interest for the decision to be declared.

Mr. Blaine was nominated by James F. Joy, of Michigan, and the nomination was seconded by William P. Frye, of Maine, in a telling speech, which moved the convention to tumultuous applause.

THE HERO AT THE HELM.

Mr. Frye said: I once saw a storm at sea in the night-time; an old ship battling for its life with the

MRS. LUCRETIA R. GARFIELD.

fury of the tempest; darkness everywhere; the winds raging and howling; the huge waves beating

on the sides of the ship, and making her shiver from stem to stern. The lightning was flashing, the thunders rolling; there was danger everywhere. I saw at the helm a bold, courageous, immovable, commanding man. In the tempest, calm; in the commotion, quiet; in the danger, hopeful. I saw him take the old ship and bring her into her harbor, into still waters, into safety. That man was a hero.

I saw the good old ship of State, the State of Maine, within the last year, fighting her way through the same waves, against the dangers. She was freighted with all that is precious in the principles of our Republic; with the rights of the American citizenship, with all that is guaranteed to the American citizen by our Constitution. The eyes of the whole nation were on her, and intense anxiety filled every American heart lest the grand old ship, the "State of Maine," might go down beneath the waves forever, carrying her precious freight with her. But there was a man at the helm, calm, deliberate, commanding, sagacious; he made even the foolish man wise; courageous, he inspired the timid with courage; hopeful, he gave heart to the dismayed, and he brought that good old ship safely into harbor, into safety; and she floats to-day greater, purer, stronger for her baptism of danger. That man, too, was heroic, and his name was James G. Blaine.

GARFIELD NOMINATED.

As none of the leading candidates could obtain a majority, a compromise was effected and James A.

Garfield received the nomination. In the following November he was elected. Soon after the election he decided upon a visit to Washington.

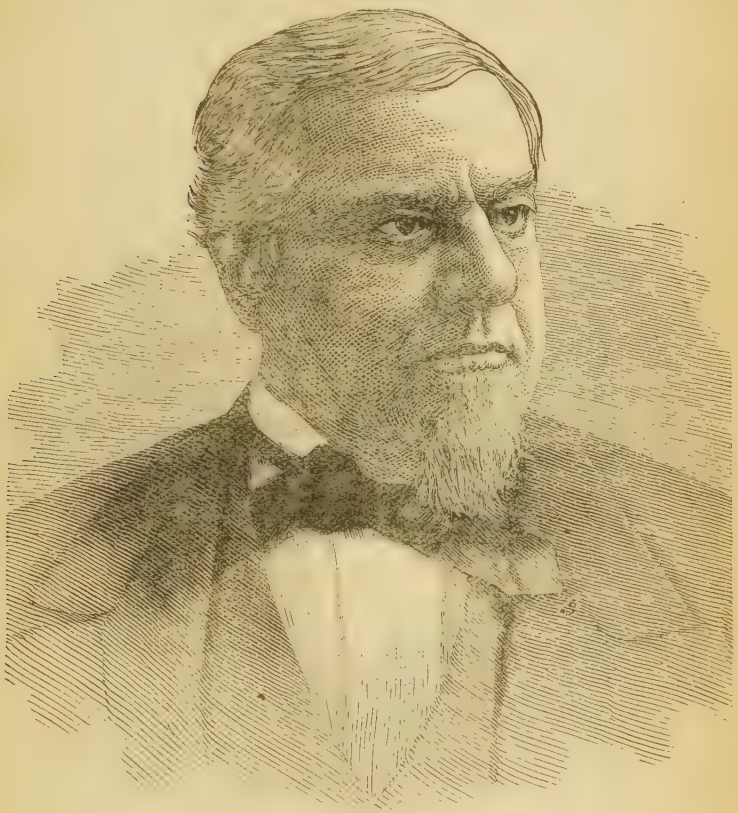
Mr. Blaine was in Bangor, Maine, where he received a note from General Garfield appointing an interview in Washington about November 24. He reached the capital on the 26th, and on the afternoon of that day called upon the President-elect at the latter's private residence. For two hours they were closeted without interruption from a single person. At this conference, General Garfield, without reservation, tendered the State Department to Mr. Blaine.

When Mr. Blaine had recovered from his surprise he replied: "General, I was hardly prepared for this tender on your part. I do not know how to make answer. I would like some time for reflection and consultation, and in the meantime I will advise you." General Garfield then and there urged Mr. Blaine to accept, but he made no binding answer at the time. Subsequently Mr. Blaine had a conference with his closest friends, and the weight of their testimony was that he should accept the place. Said he: "Gentlemen, I am inclined to accept General Garfield's offer; but meanwhile, I will for a very short period still further hold it under advisement."

BECOMES SECRETARY OF STATE.

After this conference with his friends the fact that General Garfield had offered the Senator the Secretaryship of State was communicated to one or two of Blaine's confidential friends, and he said: "If the sen-

timent of the country endorses the selection General Garfield has made, I will accept the office. Otherwise



WILLIAM H. HUNT.

not." Early in December the announcement was made in one or two newspapers, directly and absolutely, that Senator Blaine had been invited by General Garfield to take the State Department. It soon became ac-

cepted as a fact. The universal expression of newspaper opinion was that the selection was a good one. Thereupon Senator Blaine wrote the following letter of acceptance:

WASHINGTON, December 20, 1880.

My Dear Garfield:—Your generous invitation to enter your Cabinet as Secretary of State has been under consideration for more than three weeks. The thought had really never occurred to my mind until at our late conference you presented it with such cogent arguments in its favor, and with such warmth of personal friendship in aid of your kind offer.

I know that an early answer is desirable, and I have waited only long enough to consider the subject in all its bearings, and to make up my mind definitely and conclusively. I now say to you, in the same cordial spirit in which you have invited me, that I accept the position.

It is no affectation for me to add that I make this decision, not for the honor of the promotion it gives me in the public service, but because I think I can be useful to the country and to the party; useful to you as the responsible leader of the party and the great head of the government.

I am influenced somewhat, perhaps, by the shower of letters I have received urging me to accept, written to me in consequence of the mere unauthorized newspaper report that you had been pleased to offer me the place. While I have received these letters from all sections of the Union I have been especially pleased and even surprised at the cordial and widely extended feeling in my favor throughout New England, where I had expected to encounter local jealousy and perhaps rival aspiration.

In our new relation I shall give all that I am and all that I can hope to be, freely and loyally, to your service. You need no pledge of my loyalty in heart and act. I should be false to myself did I not prove true both to the great trust you confide to me and to your own personal and political fortunes in the present and in the future. Your administration must be made brilliantly successful and strong in the confidence and pride of the people, not at all directing its energies for re-election, and yet compelling that result by the logic of events and by the imperious necessities of the situation.

To that most desirable consummation I feel that, next to yourself, I can possibly contribute as much influence as any other one man. I say this not from egotism or vainglory, but merely as a deduction from a plain analysis of the political forces which have been at work in the country for five years past, and which have been significantly shown in two great National Conventions. I accept it as one of the happiest circumstances connected with this affair that in allying my political fortunes with yours—or rather for the time merging mine in yours—my heart goes with my head, and that I carry to you not only political support but personal and devoted friendship. I can but regard it as somewhat remarkable that two men of the same age, entering Congress at the same time, influenced by the same aims and cherishing the same ambitions, should never, for a single moment in eighteen years of close intimacy, have had a misunderstanding or coolness, and that our friendship has steadily grown with our growth and strengthened with our strength.

It is this fact which has led me to the conclusion embodied in this letter; for however much, my dear

Garfield, I might admire you as a statesman, I would not enter your cabinet if I did not believe in you as a man and love you as a friend.

Always faithfully yours,
JAMES G. BLAINE.

Mr. Blaine qualified as Secretary of State March 5, 1881, two days following the inauguration of the President, and immediately assumed the duties of the office.

PRESIDENT GARFIELD'S CABINET.

President Garfield's Cabinet was as follows:

Secretary of State, James G. Blaine, of Maine; Secretary of the Treasury, William Windom, of Minnesota; Secretary of the Navy, William H. Hunt, of Louisiana; Secretary of War, Robert T. Lincoln, of Illinois; Secretary of the Interior, Samuel J. Kirkwood, of Iowa; Attorney-General, Wayne McVeagh, of Pennsylvania; Postmaster-General, Thomas L. James, of New York.

The foreign policy announced by President Garfield was: First, to bring about peace and prevent future wars in North and South America; and, secondly, to cultivate such friendly commercial relations with all American countries as would lead to a large increase in the export trade of the United States. It was for the purpose of promoting peace on the Western Hemisphere that it was determined to invite all the independent governments of North and South America to meet in a peace conference at Washington on March 15, 1882.

The project met with cordial approval in South

America, and, had it been carried out, would have raised the standard of civilization, and possibly, by opening South American markets to our manufactures, would have wiped out $12,000,000 balance of trade which Spanish America brings against us every year. The invitations to this important conference were subsequently sent out by President Arthur, but in a short time they were recalled, after some of the countries had actually accepted them. It was a pacific policy and was wholly in accord with the Monroe Doctrine and the characteristic traditions of American diplomacy.

THE PANAMA CANAL.

President Garfield in his inaugural address had repeated the declaration of his predecessor that it was "the right and duty of the United States to assert and maintain such supervision and authority over any interoceanic canal across the isthmus that connects North and South America as will protect our National interests." This policy, which had received the direct approval of Congress, was vigorously upheld by Secretary Blaine. The Colombian Republic had proposed to the European Powers to join in a guarantee to the neutrality of the proposed Panama Canal.

One of President Garfield's first acts under the advice of Secretary Blaine was to remind the European Government of the exclusive rights which the United States had secured with the country to be traversed by the interoceanic waterway. These exclusive rights rendered the prior guarantee of the United States

Government indispensable, and the Powers were informed that any foreign guarantee would be not only an unnecessary but unfriendly act.

PROPOSITION TO GREAT BRITAIN.

As the United States had made in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 a special agreement with Great Britain on this subject, Secretary Blaine supplemented his memorandum to the Powers by a formal proposal for the abrogation of all provisions of that convention which were not in accord with the guarantees and privileges covenanted for in the compact with the Colombian Republic.

In his State paper, the most elaborate of the series receiving his signature as Secretary of State, Mr. Blaine contended that the operation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty practically conceded to Great Britain the control of any canal which might be constructed in the isthmus, as that Power was required by its insular position and colonial possessions to maintain a naval establishment with which the United States could not compete. As the American Government had bound itself by its engagements in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty not to fight in the isthmus, nor to fortify the mouths of any waterway that might be constructed, the Secretary argued that if any struggle for the control of the canal were to arise England would have an advantage at the outset which would prove decisive.

A BASE SURRENDER.

"The treaty," he remarked, "commands this Gov-

ernment not to use a single regiment of troops to protect its interests in connection with the interoceanic canal, but to surrender the transit to the guardianship and control of the British Navy."

The logic of this paper was unanswerable from an American point of view. If the Monroe Doctrine be anything more than a tradition, the control of the Panama Canal must not be allowed to pass out of American hands; and since the country having the most powerful navy is the real guardian of the freedom of an interoceanic canal under any system of international guarantees, or in the absence of treaty law, the Panama Canal, as Mr. Blaine said, under the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty would be surrendered, if not in form yet in effect, to the control of Great Britain.

PROPOSED CHANGES IN THE TREATY.

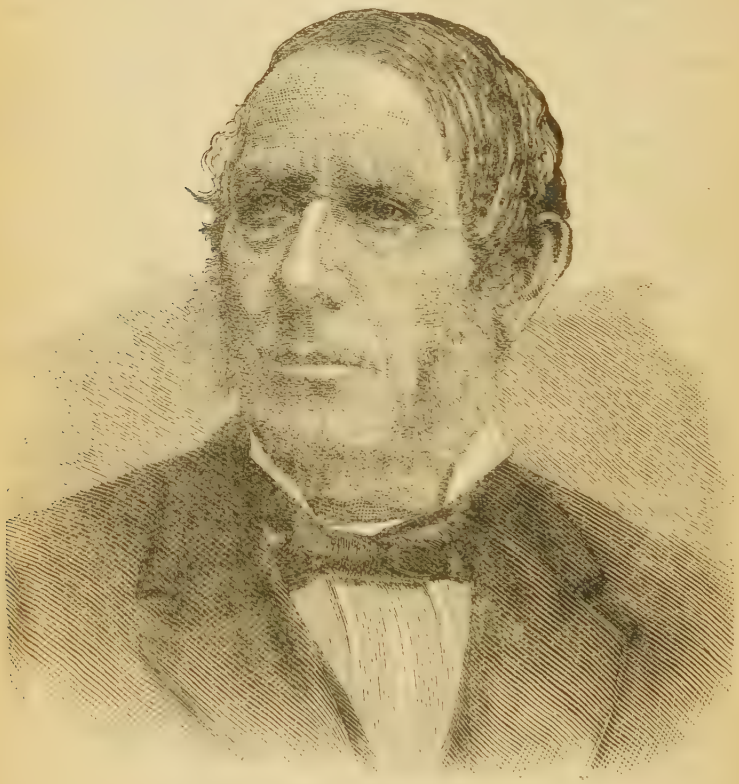
In Secretary Blaine's instructions to Mr. James Russell Lowell, Minister to England, is the following summary of the changes in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850, necessary to meet the views of the United States Government:

"*First.* Every part of the treaty which forbids the United States fortifying the canal, and holding the political control of it in conjunction with the country in which it is located, to be cancelled.

"*Second.* Every part of the treaty in which Great Britain and the United States agree to make no acquisition of territory in Central America to remain in full force."

The admirable and forcible chain of reasoning by

which Mr. Blaine led to these conclusions forced the English newspapers to admit that he had made out a good case upon British precedents, and that the right



SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD.

of the United States to control the Panama Canal was stronger, and the necessity of such control greater, than the right and necessity of England to control the Suez Canal.

WHAT THE ADMINISTRATION PROMISED.

The brief administration of President Garfield was remarkable for its promise of broad statesmanship. For many years Congress and the entire government had been busy in making war, in restoring peace and in paying the immense war debt. It was all the United States could do to preserve the Union, and other nations were profiting by the neglect of this country to properly cultivate its foreign relations. England had absorbed our commerce and directed into her own coffers the trade of the South American countries.

And now, under the auspices of the French Republic, under the direction of a citizen of France, and backed by continental capitalists, active preparations had been made to construct an interoceanic canal across the Isthmus of Panama, while, under the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850, the United States was practically powerless to take any steps for the protection of her own interests.

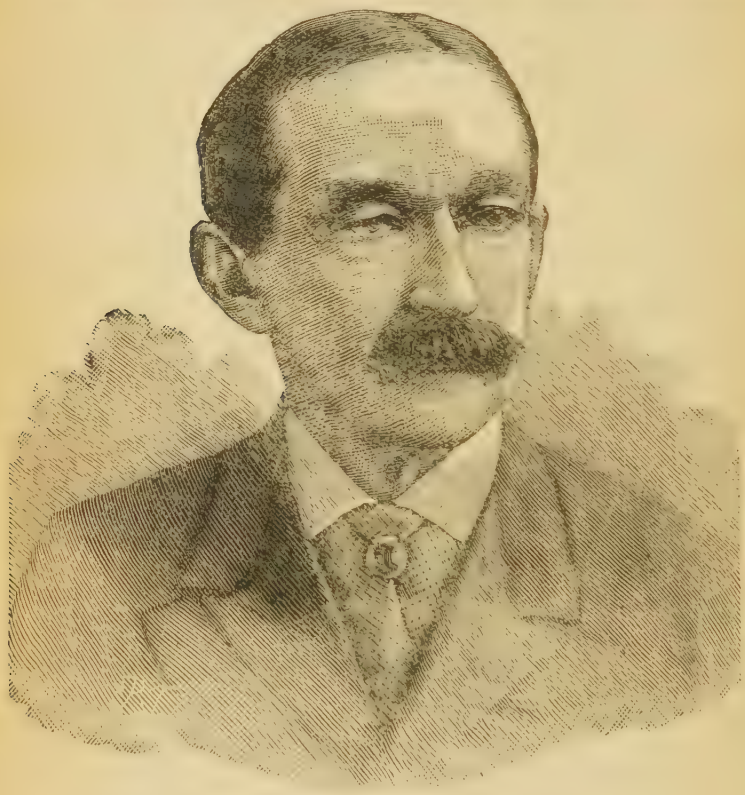
HOME POLICY.

At the same time at home a more sagacious Southern policy was demanded, a policy which would promote the material reconstruction of the South, heretofore neglected for the sake of political reconstruction.

The Southern policy of the Administration would have been to cultivate cordial relations between the different sections of the country, and, by thus promoting the flow Southward of Northern capital, to assist the development of the Southern States. Mr. Blaine

had great faith in the future of the South. On one occasion he said:

In reconstructing the South we made the same mis-



WAYNE MACVEAGH.

take the British Government is making with the Irish. If we had made a government donation of $50,000,000 for the purpose of constructing a railway from Charleston to the southern end of California, and spent every

dollar of it between Charleston and the Mississippi river in the first three years following the war, the problem of reconstruction would have solved itself; the people would have had business interests, instead of politics, to occupy their attention. I believe that within ten years the material increase in the Southern States, east of the Mississippi, will equal, if it does not surpass, that of the Northwestern States, west of the Mississippi.

FOREIGN POLICY.

As to the policy of the Garfield administration and its course of action during the war between Chili and Peru, a short and succinct presentation of the facts should be given here inasmuch as Mr. Blaine was considered the originator of the projected action on the part of the United States. The following carefully prepared article gives such a clear exhibit of the subject, and which appeared in the *New York Tribune*, will inform the general reader of the facts as they exist, and which we publish along with Mr. Blaine's statement:

The war between Chili and Peru had virtually ended with the capture of Lima on January 17, 1881. Pierola, the president, had succeeded in rallying a few followers in the north, and Calderon, assuming the provisional Presidency, had convoked a Congress in the vicinity of Lima. The State Department made strenuous exertions to bring about the conclusion of an early peace between Chili and the two prostrate States which have been crushed in war. The influence of the Govern-

ment was brought to bear upon victorious Chili in the interest of peace and magnanimity; but owing to an unfortunate misapprehension of Mr. Blaine's instructions, the United States Ministers did not promote the ends of peace.

THE PEACE CONGRESS.

Special envoys were accordingly sent to South America accredited to the three Governments with general instructions which should enable them to bring those belligerent Powers into friendly relations. These envoys were Mr. Trescot and Mr. Walker Blaine, and their mission was to perform a most delicate and important diplomatic duty in the interest of peace. After they had set out from New York Mr. Blaine resigned, and Mr. Frelinghuysen reversed the diplomatic policy with such precipitate haste that the envoys on arriving at their destination were informed by the Chilian Minister of Foreign Affairs that their instructions had been countermanded and that their mission was an idle farce.

By this extraordinary reversal of diplomatic methods and purposes the influence of the United States Government on the South American coast was reduced to so low a point as to become insignificant. Mr. Blaine's policy had been at once strong and pacific. It was followed by a period of no-policy which enabled Chili to make a conqueror's terms with the conquered and to seize as much territory as pleased its rapacious generals.

The most conspicuous act of Mr. Blaine's adminis-

tration of the State Department was his invitation to the Peace Congress. This plan had been decided upon before the assassination of President Garfield. The proposition was to invite all the independent Governments of North and South America to meet the Peace Congress at Washington on March 15, 1882. The representatives of all the minor Governments on this continent were to agree, if possible, upon some comprehensive plan for averting war by means of arbitration and for resisting the intrigues of European diplomacy. Invitations were sent on November 22, with the limitations and restrictions originally designed. Mr. Frelinghuysen lost no time in undermining this Diplomatic Congress and the meeting never took place. It cannot be doubted that the proposed Congress would have had a most important effect, not only in promoting the ends of peace, but in stimulating American trade with the Spanish-American States. It was a brilliant conception—a most useful project.

THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE.

Mr. Blaine has described the Congress as an important and impressive step on the part of the United States toward closer relationship with our continental neighbors. In no event could harm have resulted in the assembling of the Peace Congress. Failure was next to impossible. Success might be regarded as certain.

The subject to be discussed was peace, and how it can be permanently preserved in North and South

America. The labors of the Congress would have probably ended in a well-digested system of arbitration, under which all troubles between American States could be quickly, effectually and satisfactorily adjusted. Such a consummation would have been worth a great struggle and a great sacrifice. It could have been reached without any struggle and would have involved no sacrifice. It was within our grasp. It was ours for the asking. It would have been a signal victory of philanthropy over the selfishness of human ambition; a complete triumph of Christian principles as applied to the affairs of Nations. It would have reflected enduring honor on our new country, and would have imparted a new spirit and a new brotherhood to all America.

Nor would its influence beyond the sea have been small. The example of seventeen independent Nations solemnly agreeing to abolish the arbitrament of the sword, and to settle every dispute by peaceful methods of adjudication, would have exerted an influence to the utmost confines of civilization, and upon the generations of men yet to come.

MR. BLAINE'S STATEMENT.

Shortly after Mr. Blaine retired from the Cabinet, and after President Arthur had modified the foreign policy laid down by his predecessor, he wrote the following letter to a paper in Chicago, in explanation of his position.

As there is a desire to re-read it, the entire letter is given:

AUGUSTA, MAINE, Sept. 1st, 1882.

The foreign policy of President Garfield's administration had two principal objects in view: First, to bring about peace, and prevent future wars in North and South America; second, to cultivate such friendly commercial relations with all American countries as would lead to a large increase in the export trade of the United States, by supplying those fabrics in which we are abundantly able to compete with the manufacturing nations of Europe.

To attain the second object the first must be accomplished. It would be idle to attempt the development and enlargement of our trade with the countries of North and South America if that trade were liable at any unforeseen moment to be violently interrupted by such wars as that which for three years has engrossed and almost engulfed Chili, Peru, and Bolivia; as that which was barely averted by the friendly offices of the United States between Chili and the Argentine Republic; as that which has been postponed by the same good offices, but not decisively abandoned, between Mexico and Guatemala; as that which is threatened between Brazil and Uruguay; as that which is even now foreshadowed between Brazil and the Argentine States.

THE WAR SPIRIT.

Peace is essential to commerce, is the very life of honest trade, is the solid basis of international prosperity; and yet there is no part of the world where a resort to arms is so prompt as in the Spanish-American

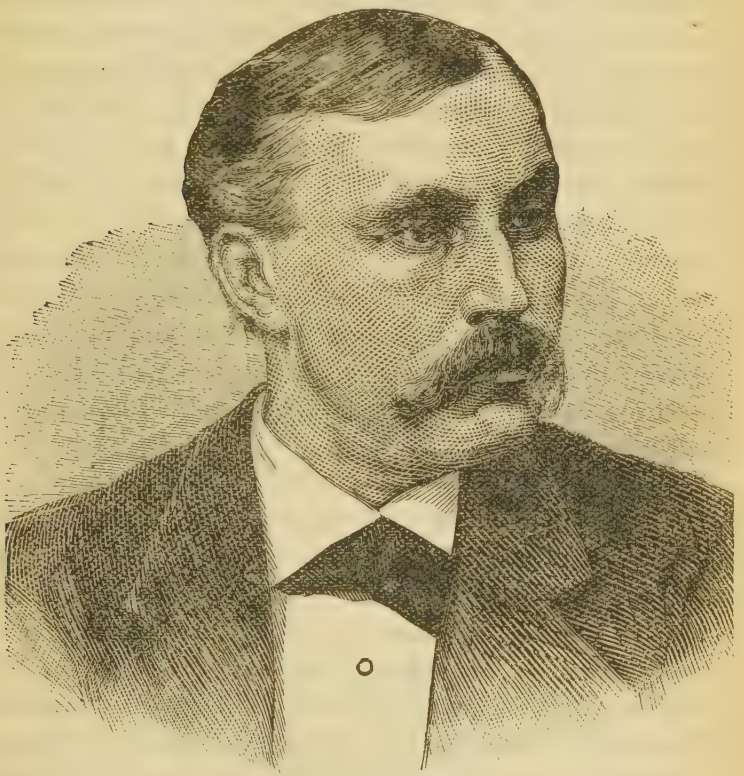
Republics. Those Republics have grown out of the old Colonial divisions, formed from capricious grants to favorites by Royal charter, and their boundaries are in many cases not clearly defined, and consequently afford the basis of continual disputes, breaking forth too often in open war. To induce the Spanish-American States to adopt some peaceful mode of adjusting their frequently recurring contentions was regarded by the late President as one of the most honorable and useful ends to which the diplomacy of the United States could contribute—useful especially to those States by securing permanent peace within all their borders, and useful to our own country by affording a coveted opportunity for extending its commerce and securing enlarged fields for our products and manufactures.

THE MOTIVE FOR CALLING A PEACE CONGRESS.

Instead of friendly intervention here and there, patching up a treaty between two countries to-day, securing a truce between two others to-morrow, it was apparent to the President that a more comprehensive plan should be adopted if war was to cease in the Western Hemisphere. It was evident that certain European Powers had in the past been interested in promoting strife between the Spanish American countries, and might be so interested in the future, while the interest of the United States was wholly and always on the side of peace with all our American neighbors, and peace between them all.

It was therefore the President's belief that mere in-

cidental and partial adjustments failed to attain the desired end, and that a common agreement of peace, permanent in its character and continental in its extent,



THOMAS L. JAMES.

should, if possible, be secured. To effect this end it had been resolved, before the fatal shot of July 2, to invite all the independent governments of North and South America to meet in a Peace Congress at Wash-

ington. The date to be assigned was the 15th of March, 1882, and the invitations would have been issued directly after the New England tour, which the President was not permitted to make. Nearly six months later, on November 22, President Garfield's successor issued the invitations for the Peace Congress in the same spirit and scope and with the same limitations and restrictions that had been originally designed.

SOUTH AMERICA APPROVES.

As soon as the project was understood in South America it received a most cordial approval, and some of the countries, not following the leisurely routine of diplomatic correspondence, made haste to accept the invitation. There can be no doubt that within a brief period all the nations invited would have formally signified their readiness to attend the Congress; but in six weeks after the invitations had gone to the several countries, President Arthur caused them to be recalled, or at least suspended.

The subject was afterward referred to Congress in a special message, in which the President ably vindicated his constitutional right to assemble the Peace Congress, but expressed a desire that the legislative department of the Government should give an opinion upon the expediency of the step before the Congress should be allowed to convene.

Meanwhile the nations that received the invitations were in an embarrassing situation; for after they were asked by the President to come, they found that the

matter had been reconsidered and referred to another department of the Government. This change was universally accepted as a practical though indirect abandonment of the project, for it was not from the first probable that Congress would take any action whatever upon the subject.

THE PROJECT DEFEATED.

The good will and welcome of the invitation would be destroyed by a long debate in the Senate and House, in which the question would necessarily become intermixed with personal and party politics, and the project would be ultimately wrecked from the same cause and by the same process that destroyed the usefulness of the Panama Congress more than fifty years ago, when Mr. Clay was Secretary of State. The time for Congressional action would have been after the Peace Conference had closed its labors.

The conference could not agree upon anything that would be binding upon the United States, unless assented to as a treaty by the Senate, or enacted into a law by both branches. The assembling of the Peace Conference, as President Arthur so well demonstrated, was not in derogation of any right or prerogative of the Senate or House. The money necessary for the expenses of the conference—which would not have exceeded $10,000—could not, with reason or propriety, have been refused by Congress. If it had been refused, patriotism and philanthropy would have promptly supplied it.

THE NECESSITY OF FRIENDLY INTERVENTION.

The Spanish American States are in special need of the help which the Peace Congress would afford them. They require external pressure to keep them from war. When at war they require external pressure to bring them to peace. Their outbreaks are not only frequent, but are sanguinary and sometimes cruel. The inhabitants of those countries are a brave people, belonging to a race that have always been brave, descended of men that have always been proud. They are of hot temper, quick to take affront, ready to avenge a wrong, whether real or fancied. They are at the same time generous and chivalrous, and though tending for years to past estrangement and alienation from us, they would promptly respond to any advance made by the Great Republic of the North, as they have for two generations termed our Government.

The moral influence upon the Spanish American people of such an international assembly as the Peace Congress, called by the invitation and meeting under the auspices of the United States, would have proved beneficent and far-reaching. It would have raised the standard of their civilization. It would have turned their attention to the things of peace; and the continent, whose undeveloped wealth amazed Humboldt, might have had a new life given to it, a new and splendid career opened to its inhabitants.

Such friendly interventions as the proposed Peace Congress, and as the attempt to restore peace between Chili and Peru, fell within the line of both duty and

interest on the part of the United States. Nations like individuals often require the aid of a common friend to restore relations of amity. Peru and Chili are in deplorable need of a wise and powerful mediator. Though exhausted by war, they are unable to make peace, and, unless they shall be aided by the intervention of a friend, political anarchy and social disorder will come to the conquered, and evil scarcely less serious to the conqueror. Our own Government cannot take the ground that it will not offer friendly intervention to settle troubles between American countries, unless at the same time it freely concedes to European governments the right of such intervention, and thus consents to a practical destruction of the Monroe doctrine and an unlimited increase of European and monarchical influence on this continent.

MEDIATION DEMANDED.

The late special envoy to Peru and Chili, Mr. Trescot, gives it as his deliberate and published conclusion that if the instructions under which he set out upon his mission had not been revoked, peace between those angry belligerents would have been established as the result of his labors—necessarily to the great benefit of the United States. If our Government does not resume its efforts to secure peace in South America, some European government will be forced to perform that friendly office.

The United States cannot play between nations the part of the dog in the manger. We must perform the duty of humane intervention ourselves, or give way

to foreign governments that are willing to accept the responsibility of the great trust and secure the enhanced influence and numberless advantages resulting from such a philanthropic and beneficent course.

ITS COMMERCIAL VALUE.

A most significant and important result would have followed the assembling of the Peace Congress. A friendship and an intimacy would have been established between the States of North and South America, which would have demanded and enforced a closer commercial connection. A movement in the near future, as the legitimate outgrowth of assured peace, would in all probability have been a great commercial conference at the city of Mexico or Rio Janeiro, whose deliberations would be directed to a better system of trade on the two continents.

To such a conference the Dominion of Canada could properly be asked to send representatives, as that government is allowed by Great Britain a very large liberty in regulating its commercial relations. In the Peace Congress, to be composed of independent governments, the Dominion could not have taken any part, and was consequently not invited. From this trade conference of the two continents the United States could hardly have failed to gain great advantages. At present the commercial relations of this country with the Spanish American countries, both continental and insular, are unsatisfactory and unprofitable—indeed, those relations are absolutely oppressive to the financial interests of the Government and

people of the United States. In our current exchanges it requires about $120,000,000 to pay the balances which Spanish America brings against us every year.

This amount is 50 per cent. more than the average annual product of the gold and silver mines of the United States during the past five years. This vast sum does not of course go to Spanish America in coin, but it goes across the ocean in coin or its equivalent, to pay European countries for manufactured articles which they furnish to Spanish America—a large proportion of which should be furnished by the manufacturers of the United States.

THE TARIFF AND SOUTH AMERICAN TRADE.

At this point of the argument the free trader appears and declares that our protective tariff destroys our power of competition with European countries, and that if we will abolish protection, we shall soon have South American trade. The answer is not sufficient, for to-day there are many articles which we can send to South America, and sell as cheaply as European manufacturers can furnish them. It is idle, of course, to make this statement to the genuine apostle of free trade and the implacable enemy of protection, for the great postulate of his argument, the foundation of his creed, is that nothing can be made as cheaply in America as in Europe.

Nevertheless facts are stubborn, and the hard figures of arithmetic cannot be satisfactorily answered by airy figures of speech. The truth remains that the coarser

descriptions of cottons and cotton prints, boots and shoes, ordinary household furniture, harness for draft animals, agricultural implements of all kinds, doors, sashes and blinds, locks, bolts and hinges, silverware, plated ware, wooden ware, ordinary paper and paper-hangings, common vehicles, ordinary window-glass and glassware, rubber goods, coal oils, lard oils, kerosenes, white lead, lead pipe, and articles in which lead is a chief component, can be, and are produced as cheaply in the United States as in any other part of the world.

The list of such articles might be lengthened by the addition of those classed as "notions;" but enough only are given to show that this country would, with proper commercial arrangements, export much more largely than it now does to Spanish America.

BRITISH MONOPOLY.

In the trade relations of the world, it does not follow that mere ability to produce as cheaply as another nation insures a division of an established market, or, indeed, any participation in it. France manufactures many articles as cheaply as England—some articles at even less cost. Portugal lies nearer to France than to England, and the expense of transporting the French fabric to the Portuguese market is therefore less than the transportation of English fabric.

And yet Great Britain has almost a monopoly in the trade of Portugal. The same condition applies, though in a less degree, in the trade of Turkey, Syria and Egypt, which England holds to a much greater

extent than any of the other European nations that are able to produce the same fabric as cheaply.

If it be said in answer, that England has special trade-relations by treaty with Portugal and special obligations binding the other countries, the ready answer is, that she has no more favorable position with regard to those countries than can be readily and easily acquired by the United States with respect to all the countries of America. That end will be reached whenever the United States desires it, and wills it, and is ready to take the steps necessary to secure it.

THE OMINOUS ADVERSE BALANCE.

At present the trade with Spanish America runs so strongly in channels adverse to us, that, besides our inability to furnish manufactured articles, we do not get the profit on our own raw products that are shipped there. Our petroleum reaches most of the Spanish-American ports after twice crossing the Atlantic, paying often a better profit to the European middle man, who handles it, than it does to the producer of the oil in the northwestern counties of Pennsylvania. Flour and pork from the West reach Cuba by way of Spain, and though we buy and consume ninety per cent. of the total products of Cuba, almost that proportion of her purchases are made in Europe —made, of course, with money furnished directly from our pockets.

As our exports to Spanish America grow less, as European imports constantly grow large, the balance

against us will show an annual increase, and will continue to exhaust our supply of the precious metals. We are increasing our imports from South America, and the millions we annually pay for coffee, wool, hides, guano, cinchona, caoutchouc, cabinet woods, dye woods and other articles, go for the ultimate benefit of European manufacturers who take the gold from us and send their fabrics to Spanish America.

If we could send our fabrics, our gold would stay at home and our general prosperity would be sensibly increased. But so long as we repel Spanish America, so long as we leave her to cultivate intimate relations with Europe alone, so long our trade relations will remain unsatisfactory and even embarrassing. Those countries sell to us very heavy. They buy from us lightly.

OUR EXPORTS.

And the amount they bring us in debt each year is larger than the heaviest aggregate balance of trade we ever have against us in the worst of times. The average balance against us in the whole world in the five most adverse years we ever experienced, was about one hundred millions of dollars. This plainly shows that in our European exchanges there is always a balance in our favor and that our chief deficiency arises from our mal-adjusted commercial relations with Spanish America.

It follows that if our Spanish America trade were placed on a better and more equitable foundation, it

DEPARTMENT OF STATE—SECRETARY BLAINE'S APARTMENTS.

would be almost impossible even in years most unfavorable to us, to bring us in debt to the world.

With such heavy purchases as we are compelled to make from Spanish America, it could hardly be expected that we should be able to adjust the entire account by exports. But the balance against us of one hundred and twenty millions in gold coin is far too large, and in time of stringency is a standing menace of final disaster. It should not be forgotten that every million dollars of products or fabrics that we sell in Spanish America is a million dollars in gold saved to our own country. The immediate profit is to the producer and exporter, but the entire country realizes a gain in the ease and affluence of the money market which is insured by keeping our gold at home The question involved is so large, the object to be achieved is so great, that no effort on the part of the Government to accomplish it could be too earnest or too long continued.

COMPACT OF NATIONS.

It is only claimed for the Peace Congress, designed under the administration of Garfield, that it was an important and impressive step on the part of the United States toward closer relationship with our continental neighbors. The present tendency in those countries is toward Europe, and it is a lamentable fact that their people are not so near to us in feeling as they were sixty years ago when they threw off the yoke of Spanish tyranny.

We were then a weak republic of ten millions, but

we did not hesitate to recognize the independence of the new governments, even at the risk of war with Spain. Our foreign policy at that time was specially designed to extend our influence in the Western Hemisphere, and the statesmen of that era—the era of DeWitt Clinton and the younger Adams, of Clay and of Crawford, of Webster and Calhoun, of Van Buren and Benton, of Jackson and of Edward Livingston—were always courageous in the inspiring measures which they advocated for the expansion of our commercial dominion.

THE PERIL TO BE AVOIDED BY THE UNION.

Three-score years have passed. The power of the Republic in many directions has grown beyond all anticipation, but we have relatively lost ground in some great fields of enterprise. We have added thousands of miles to our ocean front, but our commerce has fallen off, and from ardent friendship with Spanish America we have drifted into indifference if not into coldness. It is but one step further to reach a condition of positive unfriendliness, which may end in what would be equivalent to a commercial alliance against us. Already one of the most dangerous of movements—that of a European guarantee and guardianship of the Interoceanic Canal—is suggested and urged upon the Great Foreign Powers by representatives of a South American country. If these tendencies are to be averted, if Spanish-American friendship is to be regained, if the commercial empire that legitimately belongs to us is to be ours, we must not be

idle and witness its transfer to others. If we would reconquer it, a great first step is to be taken. It is the first step that costs. It is also the first step that counts. Can there be suggested a wiser step than the Peace Congress of the two Americas, that was devised under Garfield, and had the weight of his great name?

A SPECTACLE MORALLY SUBLIME.

In no event could harm have resulted in the assembling of the Peace Congress; failure was next to impossible. Success might be regarded as certain. The subject to be discussed was peace, and how it can be permanently preserved in North and South America. The labors of the Congress would have probably ended in a well-digested system of arbitration, under which all troubles between American States could be quickly, effectually and satisfactorily adjusted. Such a consummation would have been worth a great struggle and a great sacrifice. It could have been reached without any struggle and would have involved no sacrifice. It was within our grasp. It was ours for the asking.

It would have been a signal victory of philanthropy over the selfishness of human ambition; a complete triumph of Christian principles as applied to the affairs of Nations. It would have reflected enduring honor on our new country, and would have imparted a new spirit and a new brotherhood to all America. Nor would its influence beyond the sea have been small. The example of seventeen independent Na-

SECRETARY BLAINE AT THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT GARFIELD.

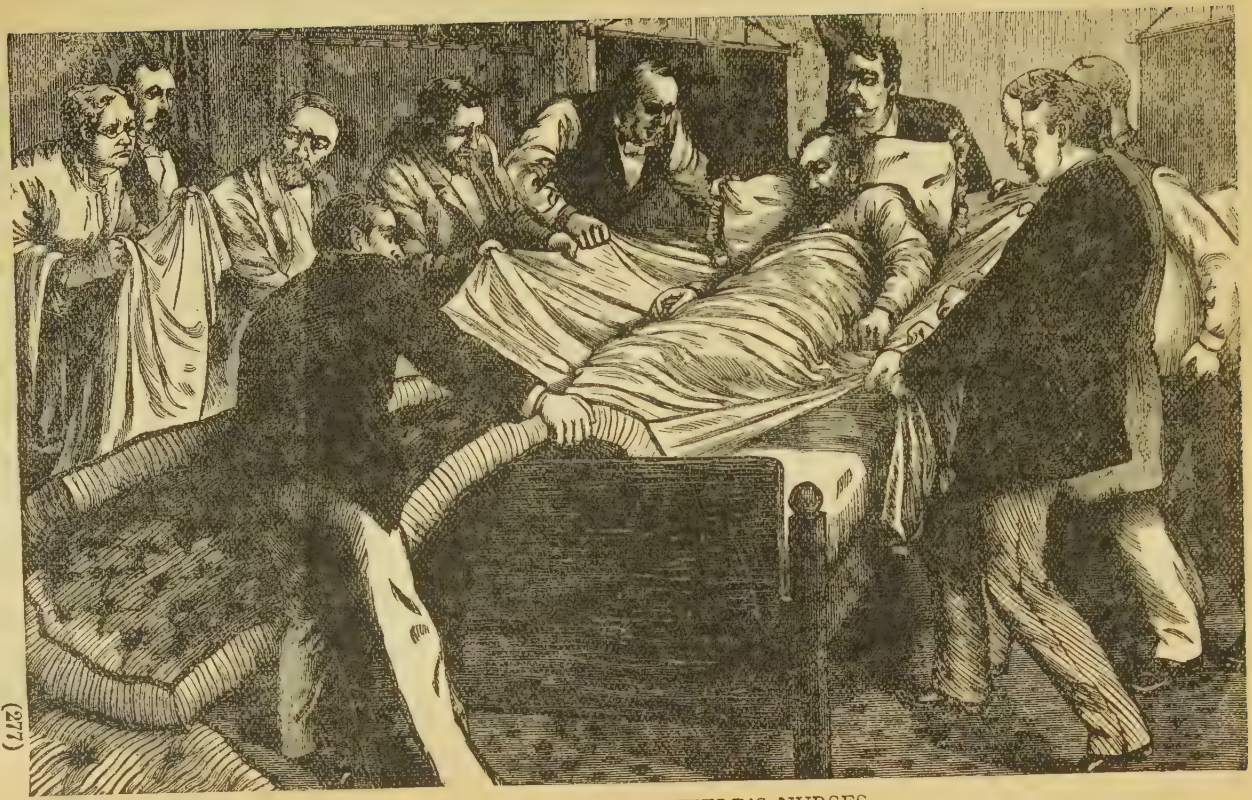
tions solemnly agreeing to abolish the arbitrament of the sword, and to settle every dispute by peaceful methods of abjudication, would have exerted an influence to the utmost confines of civilization, and upon generations of men yet to come.

JAMES G. BLAINE.

But whatever might have been the ultimate result of his foreign policy, and whatever he might have accomplished to render the administration to which he was attached popular and prosperous, was prevented by the assassination of the President, just four months from the day of his inauguration. His policy had been formulated and its details duly specified, and no doubt the President and his first officer were anticipating additional prosperity for the people.

THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT GARFIELD.

On the bright Saturday morning of July 2d, the President prepared to leave the National Capital for New York, and thence to New England to join in the reunion of his classmates at the Commencement of Williams College. Secretary Blaine accompanied him to the station and observed the almost boyish delight with which he anticipated this meeting with his fellow-students of former days. Passing into the station through the ladies' waiting-room, they were about to pass to the train, when that fiend in human form, Guiteau, fired the fatal shot which finally after weeks and months of suffering, and during which not only our nation but the world, watched in spirit, by his bed-



BLAINE ASSISTING GARFIELD'S NURSES.

side, ended in his death. The people of the country will not forget the noble devotion shown by Mr. Blaine to his dying superior officer—how he watched at his bedside, and amidst his and his Nation's sorrows discharged all the responsible duties of his position.

GARFIELD'S DEATH.

On September 6 the President was removed from Washington to Elberon, whither he was followed the same day by Mr. Blaine and the rest of the Cabinet. The apparent improvement in the President's condition warranted the belief that he would continue to gain, and Mr. Blaine went for a short rest to his home in Augusta. He was on his way back to Elberon on the nineteenth day of September when the fatal moment came and reached there the next morning. It is the universal testimony of press and people that, during the weary weeks which intervened between the President's injury and death, Mr. Blaine's every action and constant demeanor were absolutely faultless.

CHAPTER XIII.

Eulogy of James A. Garfield.

On the twenty-seventh day of February, 1882, an eulogy was delivered before both Houses of Congress, by the Hon. James G. Blaine, Secretary of State during the administration of Mr. Garfield, on the murdered President. The scene at the Capitol was a very impressive one, and will linger long in the memory of those who witnessed it. The bright morning sunshine brought forth thousands, who flocked Capitolward long before the hour announced for the opening of the doors. There were a number of Congressmen early on the ground, actively engaged in placing their ladies and other friends. At half-past 10 the galleries were literally packed, and those who came afterwards had to be content with occasional unsatisfactory glimpses through the open doors. It appeared that the seating capacity had been greatly over-estimated. Notwithstanding the reiterated announcements of the press that none without tickets would be admitted to the Capitol buildings, there were hundreds there merely to be turned away.

The scene within was inspiriting, yet of a sombre tinge. Four-fifths of the immense audience were ladies and these were mostly dressed in black or sober colors. Only here and there a flower on a bonnet, a single ribbon or bow at a feminine throat made an obtrusive show of color. This universal black made the thousands of white faces stand out in bold relief with an effect which was startling. The array of fur-lined circulars and other wraps that were hung over the cornice and dangled in front, contrary to the rules of

the House, made a ludicrous picture. In the Diplomatic gallery, clad in purple and black velvets and other rich but sober fabrics, was a distinguished assemblage of ladies. The Countess Lewenhaupt, wife of the Swedish Minister; Mrs. and Miss Preston, wife and daughter of the Haytian Minister; Viscountess Das Nogueiros, wife of the Minister from Portugal; Senora Don Francisco Barca, Spain; Senor Dom Simon Camacho, Venezuela, and others, were specially notable. In the President's gallery sat Mrs. Blaine, the wife of the distinguished orator of the day and the cynosure of all eyes. She had scarcely got seated when a page entered and presented her with a bouquet of beautiful flowers. Mrs. Blaine was attired in rich black velvet and circular lined with leopard skin, which was allowed to fall over the gallery rail. She was accompanied by Mrs. Matthews and Miss Dodge and Mrs. Justice Field. Mrs. David Dudley Field, Mrs. Bradley, Mrs. Brewster, Mrs. Frelinghuysen and Mrs. G. W. Curtis were near her. While these galleries were being filled the Marine Band, stationed in the lobby back of the Speaker's desk, poured forth the sweetest airs, the partial concealment giving the music the charm of coming from some vast music box.

On the floor about half the members of the House had gathered by eleven o'clock. Most of them appeared to be contemplating the great painting of Garfield that hung above the Speaker's chair, while the rest ogled the ladies in the galleries and joined in conversation. A loud buzz of subdued voices from two or three thousand persons filled the chamber. Three figures occupied conspicuous places on the front seats and these were the venerable figure of Washington's great man, W. W. Corcoran, the lean figure of Cyrus W. Field and the shrivelled-up figure of the historian, George Bancroft. They came in early and sat there

SECRETARY BLAINE VIEWS GARFIELD'S REMAINS WHILE LYING IN STATE.

alone. Immediately back of them, on both sides the main aisle, the desks had been removed and the vacant chairs awaited the arrival of the Senators and other dignitaries. The General of the Army came in first by the main door and he and stubby Phil Sheridan made a funny pair to come down the aisle together. They were followed by the princely General Hancock, "The Superb," and Generals Howard and Meigs. All were in full uniform. They attracted a storm of eyes and were made the immediate focus of a thousand opera-glasses. Not very long, however, for that body which always claims priority in attractiveness very soon entered from the Speaker's lobby. The full diplomatic corps, in all its royal splendor of gold lace and its courtly decorations, filed in and took the second row of seats in the semicircle. The foreign gentlemen always form a picturesque group, but never so much as when clustered together among thousands of people in solemn conventional black. The red fez and gold embroidery of the Turks were in curious contrast with the loose, plain purple robes of the Chinese. The representatives of the Japanese Government appeared in American full dress, swallow-tails, white ties and gloves, like the ordinary American gentleman and ordinary American waiter. The members of the Diplomatic Corps wore the regulation costumes of their respective countries and were marshaled by Mr. Allen, the Hawaiian Minister, who is now known as the dean since the departure of Sir Edward Thornton. While everybody was picking out the prettiest uniform in came Doctor Bliss, walking down the main aisle alone, his presence recalling the painful cause of this august gathering. The doctor seemed conscious of the general curiosity and hastily passed down and slipped into a side seat just back of the Diplomatic Corps. Shortly afterward Judge Cox, Judge Hagner, Judge Wiley and

Marshal Henry came in and sat near him. Before interest had ceased in these reminders of Garfield and his assassin Admiral Porter and Rear Admirals Rogers and Worden were escorted to corresponding seats on the opposite side, sitting immediately behind the great generals. They were also resplendent in the showy uniform of the American navy that is to be.

When the House was called to order at noon the seats set aside for the Senate, Cabinet and others were still vacant, though every other seat was occupied, and the space outside the rail was crowded with ex-Congressmen and the lesser dignitaries. The House Clerk, however, had scarcely read the resolutions which appointed the occasion before the Senate was announced. President Davis waddled upon the stand and reached out for the gavel in his business-like way, the House remaining standing until the Senators were seated. The Supreme Court, in full black robes, quickly followed the Senate, and then the President and his Cabinet were announced. The President came in leaning on the arm of Senator Sherman, who was, with McKinley, of the House, acting for the joint committee. The announcement of the President of the United States was greeted by general applause. He was seated at the corner of the aisle on the first row of seats to the Speaker's right and next to Cyrus W. Field. Arthur didn't seem to know just what to do with his hat for half a second. Field offered to take it, but the President finally found relief in placing it under his seat. Frelinghuysen sat opposite the President across the aisle, next him Secretary Folger, who sat bolt upright in his straight-backed chair, and next sat Secretary Robert Lincoln, who rested on the small of his back in a very ungraceful but comfortable way, while beyond Lincoln were Attorney-General Brewster, Hunt, Postmaster-General Howe and Secre-

tary Kirkwood. The President wore a Prince Albert coat, with a low-cut rolling collar, a high vest, showing only his black scarf, surmounted by a black pin. His gloves were black, undressed kid and his shoes were topped by black cloth gaiters. Attorney-General Brewster wore a bright blue scarf and carried a crush hat. Secretary Kirkwood also carried a crush hat, known in Iowa as a slouch, the only slouch visible in the Cabinet.

Soon after the President was seated and last of all came James G. Blaine, the orator of the day. The announcement of his name was followed by a storm of applause which, by the side of that which greeted the President, seemed like a whirlwind of enthusiasm. Blaine came down the aisle escorted on either side by Senator Sherman and Representative McKinley. He was followed by William E. Chandler, Emmons Blaine and the ex-Premier's private secretary, who bore in his right hand a huge white envelope containing the great address. Mr. Blaine advanced to the rostrum, where he was warmly greeted by Vice-President Davis, and then took his seat at the middle of the Clerk's desk. On the left of the orator sat Representative McKinley and Clerk McPherson, representing the authority and dignity of the House of Representatives. On the right sat Senator Sherman and Secretary Shober, representing the authority and dignity of the Senate. On the desk in front of the orator was a glass of water, on his left a silver pitcher and a brace of gold-lined goblets The address was preceded by a brief prayer from Chaplain Power, nearly everybody on the floor rising to their feet and this example being followed to some extent in the galleries. When Mr. Blaine began, the vast assemblage was almost deathly quiet, for the speaker's voice was low and not very clear. As he got warmed up, however, in reciting the military and civic

honors of his late beloved chief his voice came out, round and full, with its old power. The attention of the audience was captured at the start. Nobody got up, nobody wearied, nobody did aught but listen to catch the orator's every word.

When Mr. Blaine reached that portion of his speech in which he alluded to the causes which led to the shooting of Garfield there was a visible straining to catch the full import of his words. It was a very delicate subject and the orator, with rare tact and judgment, trod daintily on the ground. It was noticeable that at this point the President leaned slightly forward, shifted his feet about and fumbled his watch-chain and his glasses in an abstracted way, fully bound up in his intentness on the language of the orator. The intensity of feeling in the entire audience was unconsciously illustrated in the long breath of relief that swept over the human sea when Mr. Blaine turned from the subject to treat of the religious character of the illustrious deceased. Every one straightened up and looked at his neighbor, as much as to say: "Well, I'm glad that is over."

At the close, instead of the brilliant rhetoric of the plumed knight, as nearly everybody had anticipated, there was the simplest and most touching appeal for human sympathy for the poor sufferer by the sea. The speaker's eyes were suffused with tears as he recited the simple story. In fact he almost broke down. The sympathetic eyes of President Arthur filled, his mouth twitched, and he thought it not unmanly to dash away a tear with a sweep of his hand. There were a good many other eyes wet in that vast audience and many women in the galleries sobbed outright. When the final sentence was spoken and the orator sat down, round after round of applause burst forth.

THE EULOGY IN FULL.

Ex-Secretary Blaine's Eloquent and Dignified Tribute to the Memory of his Dead Chief.

MR. PRESIDENT: For the second time in this generation the great departments of the Government of the United States are assembled in the Hall of Representatives to do honor to the memory of a murdered President. Lincoln fell at the close of a mighty struggle in which the passions of men had been deeply stirred. The tragical termination of his great life added but another to the lengthened succession of horrors which had marked so many lintels with the blood of the first born. Garfield was slain in a day of peace, when brother had been reconciled to brother and when anger and hate had been banished from the land. "Whoever shall hereafter draw the portrait of murder, if he will show it as it has been exhibited where such example was last to have been looked for, let him not give it the grim visage of Moloch, the brow knitted by revenge, the face black with settled hate. Let him draw, rather, a decorous, smooth-faced, bloodless demon; not so much an example of human nature in its depravity and in its paroxysms of crime as an infernal being, a fiend in the ordinary display and development of his character."

From the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth till the uprising against Charles First about twenty thousand emigrants came from old England to New England. As they came in pursuit of intellectual freedom and ecclesiastical independence rather than for worldly honor and profit, the emigration naturally ceased when the contest for religious liberty began in earnest at home. The man who struck his most effective blow for freedom of conscience by sailing for the Colonies in 1620 would have been accounted a deserter to leave

after 1640. The opportunity had then come on the soil of England for that great contest which established the authority of Parliament, gave religious freedom to the people, sent Charles to the block and committed to the hands of Oliver Cromwell the supreme executive authority of England. The English emigration was never renewed, and from these twenty thousand men, with a small emigration from Scotland and from France, are descended the vast numbers who have New England blood in their veins.

In 1685 the revocation of the edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. scattered to other countries four hundred thousand Protestants, who were among the most intelligent and enterprising of French subjects—merchants of capital, skilled manufacturers and handicraftsmen, superior at the time to all others in Europe. A considerable number of these Huguenot French came to America; a few landed in New England and became honorably prominent in its history. Their names have in large part become anglicized or have disappeared, but their blood is traceable in many of the most reputable families, and their fame is perpetuated in honorable memorials and useful institutions.

From these two sources, the English Puritan and the French Huguenot, came the late President—his father, Abram Garfield, being descended from the one, and his mother, Eliza Ballou, from the other.

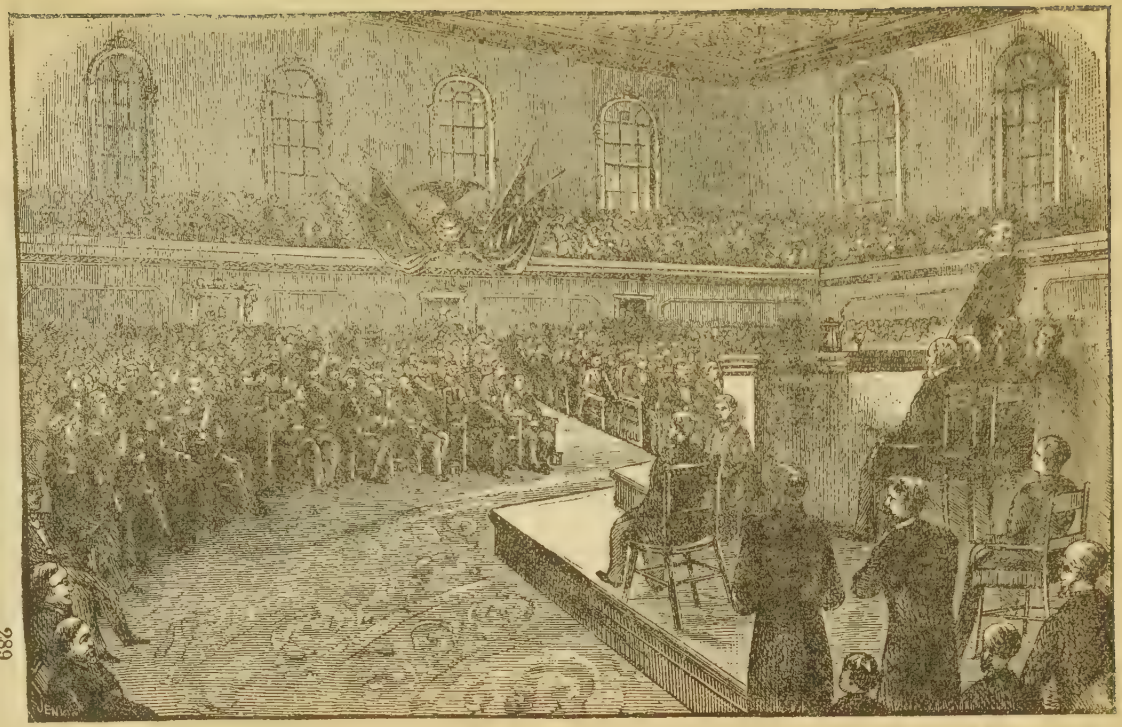
It was good stock on both sides—none better, none braver, none truer. There was in it an inheritance of courage, of manliness, of imperishable love of liberty, of undying adherence to principle. Garfield was proud of his blood; and, with as much satisfaction as if he were a British nobleman reading his stately ancestral record in Burke's Peerage, he spoke of himself as ninth in descent from those who would not

endure the oppression of the Stuarts and seventh in descent from the brave French Protestants who refused to submit to tyranny even from the Grand Monarque.

General Garfield delighted to dwell on these traits, and during his only visit to England he busied himself in discovering every trace of his forefathers in parish registries and on ancient army rolls. Sitting with a friend in the gallery of the House of Commons one night after a long day's labor in this field of research, he said, with evident elation, that in every war in which for three centuries patriots of English blood had struck sturdy blows for constitutional government and human liberty his family had been represented. They were at Marston Moor, at Naseby and at Preston; they were at Bunker Hill, at Saratoga and at Monmouth, and in his own person had battled for the same great cause in the war which preserved the Union of the States.

Losing his father before he was two years old, the early life of Garfield was one of privation, but its poverty has been made indelicately and unjustly prominent. Thousands of readers have imagined him as the ragged, starving child whose reality too often greets the eye in the squalid sections of our large cities. General Garfield's infancy and youth had none of their destitution, none of their pitiful features appealing to the tender heart and to the open hand of charity. He was a poor boy in the same sense in which Henry Clay was a poor boy; in which Andrew Jackson was a poor boy; in which Daniel Webster was a poor boy; in the sense in which a large majority of the eminent men of America in all generations have been poor boys. Before a great multitude of men, in a public speech, Mr. Webster bore this testimony:

"It did not happen to me to be born in a log cabin, but my elder brothers and sisters were born in a log



HON. JAMES G. BLAINE DELIVERING THE GARFIELD MEMORIAL ADDRESS.

cabin raised amid the snow drifts of New Hampshire, at a period so early that when the smoke rose first from its rude chimney and curled over the frozen hills there was no similar evidence of a white man's habitation between it and the settlements on the rivers of Canada. Its remains still exist. I make to it an annual visit. I carry my children to it to teach them the hardships endured by the generations which have gone before them. I love to dwell on the tender recollections, the kindred ties, the early affections and the touching narratives and incidents which mingle with all I know of this primitive family abode."

With the requisite change of scene the same words would aptly portray the early days of Garfield. The poverty of the frontier, where all are engaged in a common struggle and where a common sympathy and hearty co-operation lighten the burdens of each, is a very different poverty—different in kind, different in influence and effect—from that conscious and humiliating indigence which is every day forced to contrast itself with neighboring wealth, on which it feels a sense of grinding dependence. The poverty of the frontier is indeed no poverty. It is but the beginning of wealth, and has the boundless possibilities of the future always opening before it. No man ever grew up in the agricultural regions of the West, where a house-raising, or even a corn-husking, is a matter of common interest and helpfulness, with any other feeling than that of broad-minded, generous independence. This honorable independence marked the youth of Garfield as it marks the youth of millions of the best blood and brain now training for the future citizenship and future government of the Republic. Garfield was born heir to land, to the title of freeholder which has been the patent and passport of self-respect with the Anglo-Saxon race ever since Hengist and Horsa landed

on the shores of England. His adventure on the canal—an alternative between that and the deck of a Lake Erie schooner—was a farmer boy's device for earning money, just as the New England lad begins a possibly great career by sailing before the mast on a coasting vessel or on a merchantman bound to the farther India or to the China Seas.

No manly man feels anything of shame in looking back to early struggles with adverse circumstances, and no man feels a worthier pride than when he has conquered the obstacles to his progress. But no one of noble mould desires to be looked upon as having occupied a menial position, as having been repressed by a feeling of inferiority, or as having suffered the evils of poverty until relief was found at the hand of charity. General Garfield's youth presented no hardships which family love and family energy did not overcome, subjected him to no privations which he did not cheerfully accept, and left no memories save those which were recalled with delight and transmitted with profit and with pride.

Garfield's early opportunities for securing an education were extremely limited, and yet were sufficient to develop in him an intense desire to learn. He could read at three years of age, and each winter he had the advantage of the district school. He read all the books to be found within the circle of his acquaintance; some of them he got by heart. While yet in childhood he was a constant student of the Bible and became familiar with its literature. The dignity and earnestness of his speech in his maturer life gave evidence of this early training. At eighteen years of age he was able to teach school, and thenceforward his ambition was to obtain a college education. To this end he bent all his efforts, working in the harvest field, at the carpenter's bench, and, in the winter season.

teaching the common schools of the neighborhood. While thus laboriously occupied he found time to prosecute his studies, and was so successful that at twenty-two years of age he was able to enter the junior class at Williams College, then under the presidency of the venerable and honored Mark Hopkins, who, in the fullness of his powers, survives the eminent pupil to whom he was of inestimable service.

The history of Garfield's life to this period presents no novel features. He had undoubtedly shown perseverance, self-reliance, self-sacrifice and ambition—qualities which, be it said for the honor of our country, are everywhere to be found among the young men of America. But from his graduation at Williams onward to the hour of his tragical death Garfield's career was eminent and exceptional. Slowly working through his educational period, receiving his diploma when twenty-four years of age, he seemed at one bound to spring into conspicuous and brilliant success. Within six years he was successively president of a college, State Senator of Ohio, Major General in the Army of the United States and Representative-elect to the National Congress. A combination of honors so varied, so elevated, within a period so brief and to a man so young, is without precedent or parallel in the history of the country.

Garfield's army life was begun with no other military knowledge than such as he had hastily gained from books in the few months preceding his march to the field. Stepping from civil life to the head of a regiment, the first order he received when ready to cross the Ohio was to assume command of a brigade and to operate as an independent force in Eastern Kentucky. His immediate duty was to check the advance of Humphrey Marshall, who was marching down the Big Sandy with the intention of occupying in connection

with other Confederate forces the entire territory of Kentucky and of precipitating the State into secession. This was at the close of the year 1861. Seldom, if ever, has a young college professor been thrown into a more embarrassing and discouraging position. He knew just enough of military science, as he expressed it himself, to measure the extent of his ignorance, and with a handful of men he was marching in rough winter weather into a strange country among a hostile population to confront a largely superior force under the command of a distinguished graduate of West Point, who had seen active and important service in two preceding wars.

The result of the campaign is matter of history. The skill, the endurance, the extraordinary energy shown by Garfield, the courage he imparted to his men, raw and untried as himself, the measures he adopted to increase his force and to create in the enemy's mind exaggerated estimates of his numbers, bore perfect fruit in the routing of Marshall, the capture of his camp, the dispersion of his force and the emancipation of an important territory from the control of the rebellion. Coming at the close of a long series of disasters to the Union arms, Garfield's victory had an unusual and extraneous importance and in the popular judgment elevated the young commander to the rank of a military hero. With less than two thousand men in his entire command, with a mobilized force of only eleven hundred, without cannon, he had met an army of five thousand and defeated them—driving Marshall's forces successively from two strongholds of their own selection, fortified with abundant artillery. Major General Buell, commanding the Department of the Ohio, an experienced and able soldier of the regular army, published an order of thanks and congratulation on the brilliant result of the Big Sandy campaign,

which would have turned the head of a less cool and sensible man than Garfield. Buell declared that his services had called into action the highest qualities of a soldier, and President Lincoln supplemented these words of praise by the more substantial reward of a brigadier general's commission, to bear date from the day of his decisive victory over Marshall.

The subsequent military career of Garfield fully sustained its brilliant beginning. With his new commission he was assigned to the command of a brigade in the Army of the Ohio, and took part in the second and decisive day's fight in the great battle of Shiloh. The remainder of the year 1862 was not especially eventful to Garfield, as it was not to the armies with which he was serving. His practical sense was called into exercise in completing the task, assigned him by General Buell, of reconstructing bridges and re-establishing lines of railway communication for the army. His occupation in this useful but not brilliant field was varied by service on courts-martial of importance, in which department of duty he won a valuable reputation, attracting the notice and securing the approval of the able and eminent Judge Advocate General of the Army. That of itself was warrant to honorable fame; for among the great men who in those trying days gave themselves, with entire devotion, to the service of their country, one who brought to that service the ripest learning, the most fervid eloquence, the most varied attainments, who labored with modesty and shunned applause, who in the day of triumph sat reserved and silent and grateful—as Francis Deak in the hour of Hungary's deliverance—was Joseph Holt, of Kentucky, who in his honorable retirement enjoys the respect and veneration of all who love the Union of the States.

Early in 1863 Garfield was assigned to the highly

important and responsible post of chief of staff to General Rosecrans, then at the head of the Army of the Cumberland. Perhaps in a great military campaign no subordinate officer requires sounder judgment and quicker knowledge of men than the chief of staff to the commanding general. An indiscreet man in such a position can sow more discord, breed more jealousy and disseminate more strife than any other officer in the entire organization. When General Garfield assumed his new duties he found various troubles already well developed and seriously affecting the value and efficiency of the Army of the Cumberland. The energy, the impartiality and the tact with which he sought to allay these dissensions and to discharge the duties of his new and trying position will always remain one of the most striking proofs of his great versatility. His military duties closed on the memorable field of Chickamauga, a field which, however disastrous to the Union arms, gave to him the occasion of winning imperishable laurels. The very rare distinction was accorded him of a great promotion for his bravery on a field that was lost. President Lincoln appointed him a major-general in the army of the United States for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of Chickamauga.

The Army of the Cumberland was reorganized under the command of General Thomas, who promptly offered Garfield one of its divisions. He was extremely desirous to accept the position, but was embarrassed by the fact that he had a year before been elected to Congress and the time when he must take his seat was drawing near. He preferred to remain in the military service and had within his own breast the largest confidence of success in the wider field which his new rank opened to him. Balancing the arguments on the one side and the other, anxious to determine what was

for the best, desirous above all things to do his patriotic duty, he was decisively influenced by the advice of President Lincoln and Secretary Stanton, both of whom assured him that he could at that time be of especial value in the House of Representatives. He resigned his commission of major-general on the 5th day of December, 1863, and took his seat in the House of Representatives on the 7th. He had served two years and four months in the army and had just completed his thirty-second year.

The Thirty-eighth Congress is pre-eminently entitled in history to the designation of the War Congress. It was elected while the war was flagrant and every member was chosen upon the issues involved in the continuance of the struggle. The Thirty-seventh Congress had, indeed, legislated to a large extent on war measures, but it was chosen before any one believed that secession of the States would be actually attempted. The magnitude of the work which fell upon its successor was unprecedented, both in respect to the vast sums of money raised for the support of the army and navy, and of the new and extraordinary powers of legislation which it was forced to exercise. Only twenty-four States were represented, and one hundred and eighty-two members were upon its roll. Among these were many distinguished party leaders on both sides, veterans in the public service, with established reputations for ability and with that skill which comes only from parliamentary experience. Into this assemblage of men Garfield entered without special preparation, and it might almost be said unexpectedly. The question of taking command of a division of troops under General Thomas or taking his seat in Congress was kept open till the last moment—so late, indeed, that the resignation of his military commission and his appearance in the House were almost contemporaneous. He

wore the uniform of a major-general of the United States Army on Saturday, and on Monday, in civilian's dress, he answered to the roll-call as a Representative in Congress from the State of Ohio.

He was especially fortunate in the constituency which elected him. Descended almost entirely from New England stock, the men of the Ashtabula district were intensely radical on all questions relating to human rights. Well educated, thrifty, thoroughly intelligent in affairs, acutely discerning of character, not quick to bestow confidence and slow to withdraw it, they were at once the most helpful and most exacting of supporters. Their tenacious trust in men in whom they have once confided is illustrated by the unparalleled fact that Elisha Whittlesey, Joshua R. Giddings and James A. Garfield represented the district for fifty-four years.

There is no test of a man's ability in any department of public life more severe than service in the House of Representatives; there is no place where so little deference is paid to reputation previously acquired, or to eminence won outside; no place where so little consideration is shown to the feelings or the failures of beginners. What a man gains in the House he gains by sheer force of his own character, and if he loses and falls back, he must expect no mercy and will receive no sympathy. It is a field in which the survival of the strongest is the recognized rule, and where no pretence can deceive and no glamour can mislead. The real man is discovered, his worth is impartially weighed, his rank is irreversibly decreed.

With possibly a single exception, Garfield was the youngest member in the House when he entered and was but seven years from his college graduation. But he had not been in his seat sixty days before his ability was recognized and his place conceded. He stepped

to the front with the confidence of one who belonged there. The House was crowded with strong men of both parties; nineteen of them have since been transferred to the Senate and many of them have served with distinction in the Gubernatorial chairs of their respective States and on foreign missions of great consequence; but among them all none grew so rapidly, none so firmly, as Garfield. As is said by Trevelyan of his parliamentary hero, Garfield succeeded "because all the world in concert could not have kept him in the background, and because when once in the front he played his part with a prompt intrepidity and a commanding ease that were but the outward symptoms of the immense reserves of energy on which it was in his power to draw." Indeed, the apparently reserved force which Garfield possessed was one of his great characteristics. He never did so well but that it seemed he could easily have done better. He never expended so much strength but that he seemed to be holding additional power at call. This is one of the happiest and rarest distinctions of an effective debater, and often counts for as much in persuading an assembly as the eloquent and elaborate argument.

The great measure of Garfield's fame was filled by his service in the House of Representatives. His military life, illustrated by honorable performance and rich in promise, was, as he himself felt, prematurely terminated and necessarily incomplete. Speculation as to what he might have done in a field where the great prizes are so few cannot be profitable. It is sufficient to say that as a soldier he did his duty bravely; he did it intelligently; he won an enviable fame, and he retired from the service without blot or breath against him. As a lawyer, though admirably equipped for the profession, he can scarcely be said to have entered on its practice. The few efforts he made at the bar

were distinguished by the same high order of talent which he exhibited on every field where he was put to the test, and if a man may be accepted as a competent judge of his own capacities and adaptations, the law was the profession to which Garfield should have devoted himself. But fate ordained otherwise, and his reputation in history will rest largely upon his service in the House of Representatives. That service was exceptionally long. He was nine times consecutively chosen to the House, an honor enjoyed by not more than six other Representatives of the more than five thousand who have been elected from the organization of the government to this hour.

As a parliamentary orator, as a debater on an issue squarely joined, where the position had been chosen and the ground laid out, Garfield must be assigned a very high rank. More, perhaps, than any man with whom he was associated in public life, he gave careful and systematic study to public questions, and he came to every discussion in which he took part with elaborate and complete preparation. He was a steady and indefatigable worker. Those who imagine that talent or genius can supply the place or achieve the results of labor will find no encouragement in Garfield's life. In preliminary work he was apt, rapid and skilful. He possessed in a high degree the power of readily absorbing ideas and facts, and, like Dr. Johnson, had the art of getting from a book all that was of value in it by a reading apparently so quick and cursory that it seemed like a mere glance at the table of contents. He was a preeminently fair and candid man in debate, took no petty advantage, stooped to no unworthy methods, avoided personal allusions, rarely appealed to prejudice, did not seek to inflame passion. He had a quicker eye for the strong point of his adversary than for his weak point, and on his own side he so marshaled his weighty argu-

ments as to make his hearers forget any possible lack in the complete strength of his position. He had a habit of stating his opponent's side with such amplitude of fairness and such liberality of concession that his followers often complained that he was giving his case away. But never in his prolonged participation in the proceedings of the House did he give his case away or fail in the judgment of competent and impartial listeners to gain the mastery.

These characteristics, which marked Garfield as a great debater, did not, however, make him a great parliamentary leader. A parliamentary leader, as that term is understood wherever free representative government exists, is necessarily and very strictly the organ of his party. An ardent American defined the instinctive warmth of patriotism when he offered the toast: "Our country, always right, but right or wrong, our country." The parliamentary leader who has a body of followers that will do and dare and die for the cause is one who believes his party always right, but right or wrong, is for his party. No more important or exacting duty devolves upon him than the selection of the field and the time for contest. He must know not merely how to strike, but where to strike and when to strike. He often skilfully avoids the strength of his opponent's position, and scatters confusion in his ranks by attacking an exposed point when really the righteousness of the cause and the strength of logical intrenchment are against him. He conquers often both against the right and the heavy battalions; as when young Charles Fox, in the days of his toryism, carried the House of Commons against justice, against its immemorial rights, against his own convictions, if indeed at that period Fox had convictions, and, in the interest of a corrupt administration, in obedience to a tyrannical sovereign, drove Wilkes from the seat to which the

electors of Middlesex had chosen him, and installed Luttrell in defiance, not merely of law, but of public decency. For an achievement of that kind Garfield was disqualified—disqualified by the texture of his mind, by the honesty of his heart, by his conscience, and by every instinct and aspiration of his nature.

The three most distinguished parliamentary leaders hitherto developed in this country are Mr. Clay, Mr. Douglas and Mr. Thaddeus Stevens. Each was a man of consummate ability, of great earnestness, of intense personality, differing widely each from the others, and yet with a single trait in common—the power to command. In the give and take of daily discussion; in the art of controlling and consolidating reluctant and refractory followers; in the skill to overcome all forms of opposition and to meet with competency and courage the varying phases of unlooked-for assault or unsuspected defection, it would be difficult to rank with these a fourth name in all our Congressional history. But of these Mr. Clay was the greatest. It would, perhaps, be impossible to find in the parliamentary annals of the world a parallel to Mr. Clay in 1841, when at sixty-four years of age he took the control of the Whig party from the President who had received their suffrages, against the power of Webster in the Cabinet, against the eloquence of Choate in the Senate, against the herculean efforts of Caleb Cushing and Henry A. Wise in the House. In unshared leadership, in the pride and plenitude of power, he hurled against John Tyler with deepest scorn the mass of that conquering column which had swept over the land in 1840 and drove his administration to seek shelter behind the lines of his political foes. Mr. Douglas achieved a victory scarcely less wonderful when, in 1854, against the secret desires of a strong administration, against the wise counsel of the older chiefs, against the conservative instincts and

even the moral sense of the country, he forced a reluctant Congress into a repeal of the Missouri compromise. Mr. Thaddeus Stevens, in his contests from 1865 to 1868, actually advanced his parliamentary leadership until Congress tied the hands of the President and governed the country by its own will, leaving only perfunctory duties to be discharged by the Executive. With two hundred millions of patronage in his hands at the opening of the contest, aided by the active force of Seward in the Cabinet and the moral power of Chase on the bench, Andrew Johnson could not command the support of one-third in either house against the Parliamentary uprising of which Thaddeus Stevens was the animating spirit and the unquestioned leader.

From these three great men Garfield differed radically, differed in the quality of his mind, in temperament, in the form and phase of ambition. He could not do what they did, but he could do what they could not, and in the breadth of his Congressional work he left that which will longer exert a potential influence among men, and which, measured by the severe test of posthumous criticism, will secure a more enduring and more enviable fame.

Those unfamiliar with Garfield's industry and ignorant of the details of his work may in some degree measure them by the annals of Congress. No one of the generation of public men to which he belonged has contributed so much that will be valuable for future reference. His speeches are numerous, many of them brilliant, all of them well studied, carefully phrased and exhaustive of the subject under consideration. Collected from the scattered pages of ninety royal octavo volumes of the *Congressional Record* they would present an invaluable compendium of the political history of the most important era through which the national government has ever passed. When the his-

tory of this period shall be impartially written, when war legislation, measures of reconstruction, protection of human rights, amendments to the Constitution, maintenance of public credit, steps toward specie resumption, true theories of revenue may be reviewed, unsurrounded by prejudice and disconnected from partisanism, the speeches of Garfield will be estimated at their true value, and will be found to comprise a vast magazine of fact and argument, of clear analysis and sound conclusion. Indeed, if no other authority were accessible, his speeches in the House of Representatives from December, 1863, to June, 1880, would give a well-connected history and complete defense of the important legislation of the seventeen eventful years that constitute his parliamentary life. Far beyond that, his speeches would be found to forecast many great measures, yet to be completed—measures which he knew were beyond the public opinion of the hour, but which he confidently believed would secure popular approval within the period of his own lifetime and by the aid of his own efforts.

Differing, as Garfield does, from the brilliant parliamentary leaders, it is not easy to find his counterpart anywhere in the record of American public life. He perhaps more clearly resembles Mr. Seward in his supreme faith in the all-conquering power of a principle. He had the love of learning and the patient industry of investigation to which John Quincy Adams owes his prominence and his Presidency. He had some of those ponderous elements of mind which distinguished Mr. Webster and which, indeed, in all our public life have left the great Massachusetts Senator without an intellectual peer.

In English parliamentary history, as in our own, the leaders in the House of Commons present points of essential difference from Garfield. But some of his

methods recall the best features in the strong, independent course of Sir Robert Peel, and striking resemblances are discernible in that most promising of modern Conservatives, who died too early for his country and his fame, the Lord George Bentinck. He had all of Burke's love for the sublime and the beautiful, with possibly something of his superabundance, and in his faith and his magnanimity, in his power of statement, in his subtle analysis, in his faultless logic, in his love of literature, in his wealth and world of illustration, one is reminded of that great English statesman of to-day, who, confronted with obstacles that would daunt any but the dauntless, reviled by those whom he would relieve as bitterly as by those whose supposed rights he is forced to invade, still labors with serene courage for the amelioration of Ireland and for the honor of the English name.

Garfield's nomination to the Presidency, while not predicted or anticipated, was not a surprise to the country. His prominence in Congress, his solid qualities, his wide reputation, strengthened by his then recent election as Senator from Ohio, kept him in the public eye as a man occupying the very highest rank among those entitled to be called statesmen. It was not mere chance that brought him this high honor. "We must," says Mr. Emerson, "reckon success a constitutional trait. If Eric is in robust health and has slept well and is at the top of his condition and thirty years old at his departure from Greenland he will steer west and his ships will reach New Foundland. But take Eric out and put in a stronger and bolder man and the ships will sail six hundred, one thousand, fifteen hundred miles farther and reach Labrador and New England. There is no chance in results."

As a candidate Garfield steadily grew in popular favor. He was met with a storm of detraction at the

very hour of his nomination, and it continued with increasing volume and momentum until the close of his victorious campaign:

> No might nor greatness in mortality
> Can censure 'scape; back-wounding calumny
> The whitest virtue strikes. What kings so strong
> Can tie the gall up in the slanderous tongue.

Under it all he was calm and strong and confident; never lost his self-possession, did no unwise act, spoke no hasty or ill-considered word. Indeed nothing in his whole life is more remarkable or more creditable than his bearing through those five full months of vituperation—a prolonged agony of trial to a sensitive man, a constant and cruel draft upon the powers of moral endurance. The great mass of these unjust imputations passed unnoticed and, with the general debris of the campaign, fell into oblivion. But in a few instances the iron entered his soul and he died with the injury unforgotten if not unforgiven.

One aspect of Garfield's candidacy was unprecedented. Never before, in the history of partisan contests in this country, had a successful Presidential candidate spoken freely on passing events and current issues. To attempt anything of the kind seemed novel, rash and even desperate. The older class of voters recalled the unfortunate Alabama letter, in which Mr. Clay was supposed to have signed his political death warrant. They remembered also the hot-tempered effusion by which General Scott lost a large share of his popularity before his nomination, and the unfortunate speeches which rapidly consumed the remainder. The younger voters had seen Mr. Greeley in a series of vigorous and original addresses, preparing the pathway for his own defeat. Unmindful of these warnings, unheeding the advice of friends, Garfield spoke to large crowds as he

journeyed to and from New York in August, to a great multitude in that city, to delegations and deputations of every kind that called at Mentor during the summer and autumn. With innumerable critics, watchful and eager to catch a phrase that might be turned into odium or ridicule, or a sentence that might be distorted to his own or his party's injury, Garfield did not trip or halt in any one of his seventy speeches. This seems all the more remarkable when it is remembered that he did not write what he said, and yet spoke with such logical consecutiveness of thought and such admirable precision of phrase as to defy the accident of misreport and the malignity of misrepresentation.

In the beginning of his Presidential life, Garfield's experience did not yield him pleasure or satisfaction. The duties that engross so large a portion of the President's time were distasteful to him, and were unfavorably contrasted with his legislative work. "I have been dealing all these years with ideas," he impatiently exclaimed one day, "and here I am dealing only with persons. I have been heretofore treating of the fundamental principles of government, and here I am considering all day whether A or B shall be appointed to this or that office." He was earnestly seeking some practical way of correcting the evils arising from the distribution of overgrown and unwieldy patronage—evils always appreciated and often discussed by him, but whose magnitude had been more deeply impressed upon his mind since his accession to the Presidency. Had he lived, a comprehensive improvement in the mode of appointment and in the tenure of office would have been proposed by him, and with the aid of Congress no doubt perfected.

But while many of the Executive duties were not grateful to him, he was assiduous and conscientious in

their discharge. From the very outset he exhibited administrative talent of a high order. He grasped the helm of office with the hand of a master. In this respect, indeed, he constantly surprised many who were most intimately associated with him in the government, and especially those who had feared that he might be lacking in the executive faculty. His disposition of business was orderly and rapid. His power of analysis and his skill in classification enabled him to dispatch a vast mass of detail with singular promptness and ease. His Cabinet meetings were admirably conducted. His clear presentation of official subjects, his well-considered suggestion of topics on which discussion was invited, his quick decision when all had been heard, combined to show a thoroughness of mental training as rare as his natural ability and his facile adaptation to a new and enlarged field of labor.

With perfect comprehension of all the inheritances of the war, with a cool calculation of the obstacles in his way, impelled always by a generous enthusiasm, Garfield conceived that much might be done by his administration towards restoring harmony between the different sections of the Union. He was anxious to go South and speak to the people. As early as April he had ineffectually endeavored to arrange for a trip to Nashville, whither he had been cordially invited, and he was again disappointed a few weeks later to find that he could not go to South Carolina to attend the centennial celebration of the victory of the Cowpens. But for the autumn he definitely counted on being present at three memorable assemblies in the South—the celebration at Yorktown, the opening of the Cotton Exposition at Atlanta, and the meeting of the Army of the Cumberland at Chattanooga. He was already turning over in his mind his address for each occasion, and the three taken together, he said to a friend, gave

him the exact scope and verge which he needed. At Yorktown he would have before him the associations of a hundred years that bound the South and the North in the sacred memory of a common danger and a common victory. At Atlanta he would present the material interests and the industrial development which appealed to the thrift and independence of every household, and which should unite the two sections by the instinct of self-interest and self-defense. At Chattanooga he would revive memories of the war only to show that after all its disaster and all its suffering the country was stronger and greater, the Union rendered indissoluble, and the future, through the agony and blood of one generation, made brighter and better for all.

Garfield's ambition for the success of his administration was high. With strong caution and conservatism in his nature, he was in no danger of attempting rash experiments or of resorting to the empiricism of statesmanship. But he believed that renewed and closer attention should be given to questions affecting the material interests and commercial prospects of fifty millions of people. He believed that our continental relations, extensive and undeveloped as they are, involved responsibility, and could be cultivated into profitable friendship or be abandoned to harmful indifference or lasting enmity. He believed with equal confidence that an essential forerunner to a new era of national progress must be a feeling of contentment in every section of the Union, and a generous belief that the benefits and burdens of government would be common to all. Himself a conspicuous illustration of what ability and ambition may do under republican institutions, he loved his country with a passion of patriotic devotion, and every waking thought was given to her advancement. He was an American in all his aspira-

tions, and he looked to the destiny and influence of the United States with the philosophic composure of Jefferson and the demonstrative confidence of John Adams.

The political events which disturbed the President's serenity for many weeks before that fateful day in July form an important chapter in his career, and, in his own judgment, involved questions of principle and of right which are vitally essential to the constitutional administration of the Federal Government. It would be out of place here and now to speak the language of controversy; but the events referred to, however they may continue to be source of contention with others, have become, so far as Garfield is concerned, as much a matter of history as his heroism at Chickamauga or his illustrious service in the House. Detail is not needful, and personal antagonism shall not be rekindled by any word uttered to-day. The motives of those opposing him are not to be here adversely interpreted nor their course harshly characterized. But of the dead President this is to be said, and said because his own speech is forever silenced, and he can be no more heard except through the fidelity and the love of surviving friends: From the beginning to the end of the controversy he so much deplored, the President was never for one moment actuated by any motive of gain to himself or of loss to others. Least of all men did he harbor revenge, rarely did he even show resentment, and malice was not in his nature. He was congenially employed only in the exchange of good offices and the doing of kindly deeds.

There was not an hour, from the beginning of the trouble till the fatal shot entered his body, when the President would not gladly, for the sake of restoring harmony, have retraced any step he had taken if such retracing had merely involved consequences personal to himself. The pride of consistency or any supposed

sense of humiliation that might result from surrendering his position had not a feather's weight with him. No man was ever less subject to such influences from within or from without. But after most anxious deliberation and the coolest survey of all the circumstances, he solemnly believed that the true prerogatives of the Executive were involved in the issue which had been raised, and that he would be unfaithful to his supreme obligation if he failed to maintain, in all their vigor, the constitutional rights and dignities of his great office. He believed this in all the convictions of conscience when in sound and vigorous health, and he believed it in his suffering and prostration in the last conscious thought which his wearied mind bestowed on the transitory struggles of life.

More than this need not be said. Less than this could not be said. Justice to the dead, the highest obligation that devolves upon the living, demands the declaration that in all the bearings of the subject, actual or possible, the President was content in his mind, justified in his conscience, immovable in his conclusions.

The religious element in Garfield's character was deep and earnest. In his early youth he espoused the faith of the Disciples, a sect of that great Baptist Communion which in different ecclesiastical establishments is so numerous and so influential throughout all parts of the United States. But the broadening tendency of his mind and his active spirit of inquiry were early apparent and carried him beyond the dogmas of sect and the restraints of association. In selecting a college in which to continue his education, he rejected Bethany, though presided over by Alexander Campbell, the greatest preacher of his church. His reasons were characteristic: first, that Bethany leaned too heavily toward slavery; and, second, that being himself a Dis-

ciple and the son of Disciple parents, he had little acquaintance with people of other beliefs, and he thought it would make him more liberal, quoting his own words, both in his religious and general views, to go into a new circle and be under new influences.

The liberal tendency which he anticipated as the result of wider culture was fully realized. He was emancipated from mere sectarian belief, and with eager interest pushed his investigations in the direction of modern progressive thought. He followed with quickening step in the paths of exploration and speculation so fearlessly trodden by Darwin, by Huxley, by Tyndall and by other living scientists of the radical and advanced type. His own church, binding its disciples by no formulated creed, but accepting the Old and New Testaments as the word of God with unbiased liberality of private interpretation, favored, if it did not stimulate, the spirit of investigation. Its members profess with sincerity, and profess only to be of one mind and one faith with those who immediately followed the Master, and who were first called Christians at Antioch.

But however high Garfield reasoned of "fixed fate, free-will, foreknowledge absolute," he was never separated from the Church of the Disciples in his affections and in his associations. For him it held the ark of the covenant. To him it was the gate of heaven. The world of religious belief is full of solecisms and contradictions. A philosophic observer declares that men by the thousand will die in defence of a creed whose doctrines they do not comprehend, and whose tenets they habitually violate. It is equally true that men by the thousand will cling to church organizations with instinctive and undying fidelity when their belief in maturer years is radically different from that which inspired them as neophytes.

But after this range of speculation and this latitude of doubt, Garfield came back always with freshness and delight to the simpler instincts of religious faith, which, earliest implanted, longest survive. Not many weeks before his assassination, walking on the banks of the Potomac with a friend, and conversing on those topics of personal religion concerning which noble natures have an unconquerable reserve, he said that he found the Lord's Prayer and the simple petitions learned in infancy infinitely restful to him, not merely in their stated repetition, but in their casual and frequent recall as he went about the daily duties of life. Certain texts of Scripture had a very strong hold on his memory and his heart. He heard, while in Edinburgh some years ago, an eminent Scotch preacher who prefaced his sermon with reading the eighth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, which book had been the subject of careful study with Garfield during all his religious life. He was greatly impressed by the elocution of the preacher, and declared that it had imparted a new and deeper meaning to the majestic utterances of St. Paul. He referred often in after years to that memorable service, and dwelt with exaltation of feeling upon the radiant promise and the assured hope with which the great Apostle of the Gentiles was "persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord."

The crowning characteristic of General Garfield's religious opinions, as, indeed, of all his opinions, was his liberality. In all things he had charity. Tolerance was of his nature. He respected in others the qualities which he possessed himself—sincerity of conviction and frankness of expression. With him the inquiry was

not so much what a man believes, but does he believe it? The lines of his friendship and his confidence encircled men of every creed and men of no creed, and to the end of his life on his ever-lengthening list of friends were to be found the names of a pious Catholic priest and of an honest-minded and generous-hearted freethinker.

On the morning of Saturday, July second, the President was a contented and happy man—not in an ordinary degree, but joyfully, almost boyishly happy. On his way to the railroad station, to which he drove slowly, in conscious enjoyment of the beautiful morning, with an unwonted sense of leisure and a keen anticipation of pleasure, his talk was all in the grateful and gratulatory vein. He felt that after four months of trial his administration was strong in its grasp of affairs, strong in popular favor and destined to grow stronger; that grave difficulties confronting him at his inauguration had been safely passed; that trouble lay behind him, and not before him; that he was soon to meet the wife whom he loved, now recovering from an illness which had but lately disquieted and at times almost unnerved him; that he was going to his alma mater to renew the most cherished associations of his young manhood, and to exchange greetings with those whose deepening interest had followed every step of his upward progress from the day he entered upon his college course until he had attained the loftiest elevation in the gift of his countrymen.

Surely, if happiness can ever come from the honors or triumphs of this world, on that quiet July morning James A. Garfield may well have been a happy man. No foreboding of evil haunted him; no slightest premonition of danger clouded his sky. His terrible fate was upon him in an instant. One moment he stood erect, strong, confident in the years stretching peace-

fully out before him. The next he lay wounded, bleeding, helpless, doomed to weary weeks of torture, to silence and the grave.

Great in life, he was surpassingly great in death. For no cause, in the very frenzy of wantonness and wickedness, by the red hand of murder, he was thrust from the full tide of this world's interest, from its hopes, its aspirations, its victories, into the visible presence of death—and he did not quail. Not alone for the one short moment in which, stunned and dazed, he could give up life, hardly aware of its relinquishment, but through days of deadly languor, through weeks of agony, that was not less agony because silently borne, with clear sight and calm courage he looked into his open grave. What blight and ruin met his anguished eyes whose lips may tell—what brilliant, broken plans, what baffled, high ambitions, what sundering of strong, warm manhood's friendships, what bitter rending of sweet household ties! Behind him a proud, expectant nation, a great host of sustaining friends, a cherished and happy mother, wearing the full, rich honors of her early toil and tears; the wife of his youth, whose whole life lay in his; the little boys not yet emerged from childhood's day of frolic; the fair, young daughter; the sturdy sons just springing into closest companionship, claiming every day and every day rewarding a father's love and care; and in his heart the eager, rejoicing power to meet all demands. Before him, desolation and great darkness! And his soul was not shaken. His countrymen were thrilled with instant, profound and universal sympathy. Masterful in his mortal weakness, he became the centre of a nation's love, enshrined in the prayers of a world. But all the love and all the sympathy could not share with him his suffering. He trod the wine-press alone. With unfaltering front he faced death. With unfail-

ing tenderness he took leave of life. Above the demoniac hiss of the assassin's bullet he heard the voice of God. With simple resignation he bowed to the Divine decree.

As the end drew near, his early craving for the sea returned. The stately mansion of power had been to him the wearisome hospital of pain, and he begged to be taken from its prison walls, from its oppressive, stifling air, from its homelessness and its hopelessness. Gently, silently, the love of a great people bore the pale sufferer to the longed-for healing of the sea, to live or to die, as God should will, within sight of its heaving billows, within sound of its manifold voices. With wan, fevered face tenderly lifted to the cooling breeze, he looked out wistfully upon the ocean's changing wonders; on its far sails, whitening in the morning light; on its restless waves, rolling shoreward to break and die beneath the noonday sun; on the red clouds of evening, arching low to the horizon; on the serene and shining pathway of the stars. Let us think that his dying eyes read a mystic meaning which only the rapt and parting soul may know. Let us believe that in the silence of the receding world he heard the great waves breaking on a further shore, and felt already upon his wasted brow the breath of the eternal morning.

CHAPTER XIV.

National Convention of 1884 at Chicago.

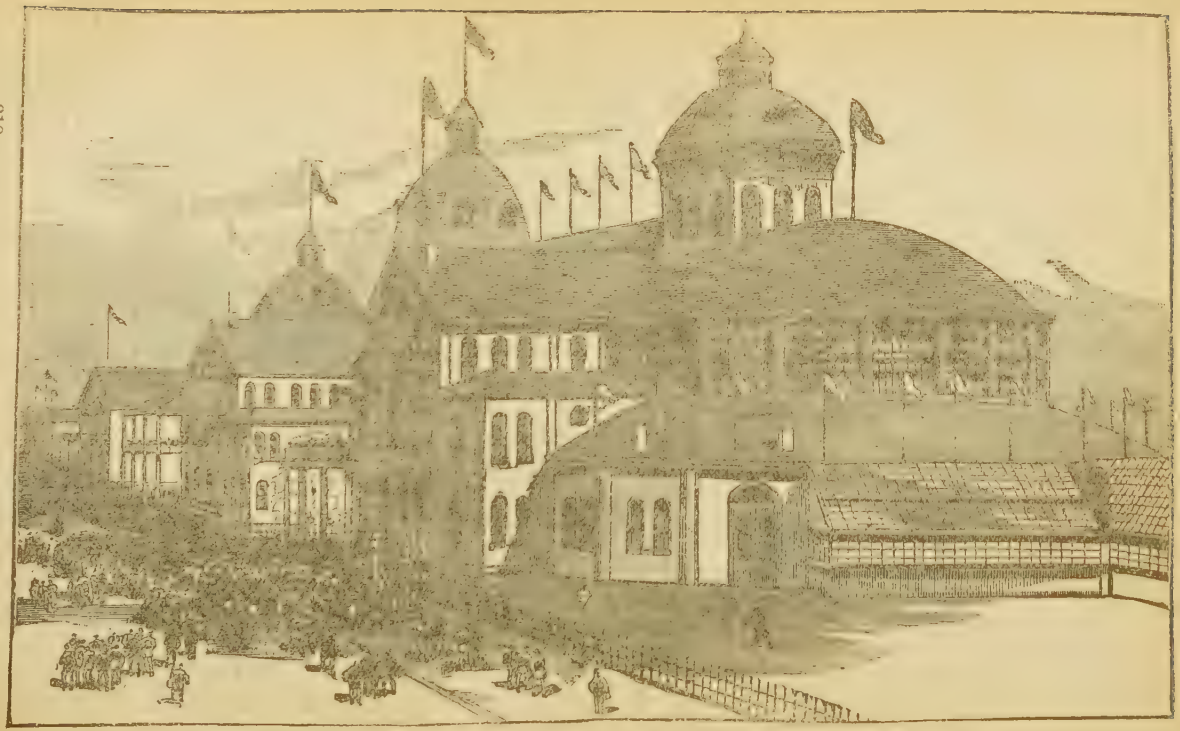
A CLOUDLESS sky, bright sunlight, and a breeze from the lake, welcomed the delegates to the first day's session of the national convention. Before eight o'clock the hotel lobbies were crowded to suffocation, and guests had to wait for places at the breakfast tables. An hour before noon, the time set for the meeting of the convention, the sidewalks leading to the Exposition Building were crowded, bands of music played, peddlers of Blaine, Arthur, and Logan badges hawked their wares, and occasionally an enthusiastic friend of one of the candidates addressed on the street corners a throng of curious idlers.

The Exposition Building, in which the convention was held, fronts on Michigan avenue. In its rear are the tracks of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, built upon the shores of the lake. The building itself resembles more than anything else a huge machine-shop without smokepipes. There is a central building, two long glass-roofed extensions running North and South, and two huge wings, each fronting on the avenue. The building is of brick, painted a sombre, green color, which the storms of five years have turned mouldy.

Over the main entrance was hung a long linen banner, upon which, painted in blue letters, edged with red, were the words, "Republican National Convention." A profusion of big flags decorated the gabled archway of the main hall, streamers and small banners floated from the poles along the roof, and heavy silk flags crackled in the wind from the main staff on the central dome of the building and its projecting wings.

At half-past eleven o'clock, the pedestrians on Adams street were halted by a procession marching down to the Exposition Building. An excellent band played a lively march and it was followed by the Young Men's Republican Club. Every member was attired in a light spring suit of clothes, a high white hat and a fancy cane. The club marched with the regularity and precision of veterans. The ladies smiled as the handsome fellows passed by, and they passed into the building with an evident determination to howl the loudest for their favorite candidate.

The different delegations straggled into the hall between eleven and twelve o'clock. Some marched in together; others straggled along by twos and threes, keeping the ushers busy to find them places. An enterprising manufacturer of patent medicine had chartered a brass band and a huge stage, on the sides of which were posters calling attention to the stuff and had stationed the dodger at the main approach to the building, where it at-



NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION BUILDING, CHICAGO, 1884.

iracted the attention of every passer. The approaches to the main floor and the different galleries were indicated by signs, so that there was no delay in seating the holders of tickets Helmeted policemen and doorkeepers decorated with blue badges guarded the approaches and rigidly excluded every intruder.

The huge, unwieldy machine for grinding out presidential candidates settled to its work with a buzz of talk and handshaking.

The distant band hummed rather than played airs from "Patience," and at last Chairman Sabin, with his broad, sallow face and curving moustache, stepped forward and put his hand on the starting bar, picking up a little mallet, sadly out of place in a situation which needed a beetle to deal a controlling blow. A slim clergyman, with a white hand and a small moustache, made an eloquent prayer, which drew subdued applause from people who mistook the peroration not unnaturally for a speech, and the big, broad-shouldered Kansan Martin, who acts as Secretary of the National Committee, read an inaudible call.

A little stir, a sort of dressing of ranks and Sabin's speech ended with the nomination for temporary chairman of Powell Clayton, a tall, sallow, round-headed, crop-haired Arkansan, with an empty sleeve and the expression of a Southwesterner. Lodge, of Massachusetts, a crisp-haired, brown-bearded young fellow, climbs a chair in the

Massachusetts delegation and puts up John R. Lynch. One great yell goes up—the shrill cry of Southern delegates—as a dozen negroes jumped in their seats, camp-meeting fashion. A sturdy, stocky side-whiskered drover-like looking man, Dutcher, of New York, seconds the nomination, meeting the Edmunds move half way with an Arthur welcome. Gravity follows in every Blaine State, while the Arthur States bubble and boil over into the aisle. Frank Hatton, slim and earnest, watches the battle on one side, and Sharpe, with his bulldog face, fairly looks pleasant. Chris Magee, a tall, fine-looking man, seeks a side aisle, while his alternate slips into his seat, and Tom Cooper looks anxiously from a high stage seat.

Speech-making begins; George William Curtis on one side, suave, courtly, with a voice of wonderfully sympathetic quality and face all soft serenity, speaks, his voice rising and falling from one trembling cadence to another, and Stewart on the other side, with sharp, strident voice and clear, dark face, and features with a straight, strong profile, puts the Blaine side in a great stir and swing and rustle.

There are other speeches. Carr, of Illinois, a big, round fellow, with a crackling, explosive voice, rides the buzz triumphantly. Roosevelt's boyish effort is drowned in it. Hoar, a big, broad-chested swimmer in this sea of manifold sound, breasts its current for a few moments and, after a running

wrangle over the method of voting, the slow roll is called. It takes two hours, man after man, leaning against the reading desk and shouting his share of 820 names into space, wearies of the work.

By relays it goes on. A name is called; up rises a distant man, and shouts the syllabic reply, Powell Clayton or John R. Lynch. The tally goes on. The cheering is short and small. The interest lies below the names. Illinois starts off for Clayton and when the votes change to Lynch a shout goes up. Connecticut shrewdly divides. McKinley leads off in Ohio, with a big purple badge on his breast. New Jersey runs by commentless, but in New York every vote is watched until the full Blaine strength is registered of twenty-nine.

In Pennsylvania McManes leads off for Lynch. Grow raises his gray head to vote, and Stewart steps forward with hat and note-book tally in his hand, as the roll runs through Republican districts which vote for Clayton. Once there is a cheer over Tom Platt, and when Virginia is reached and a thin, weazened, long-haired figure, Mahone, rises, the cheering rises and falls like the pulse of a storm. The vote is known before it is announced, and a tall Mississippian jumps in a chair and waves the square yard of blue silk on which the State is marked.

Yell, cheer and shout, hand-clapping and stamping, and at last John R. Lynch, a mulatto of the agile, facile type of ability in many directions,

takes the gavel of a National Convention in his hand. The rest is routine, and after an empty stump-speech, the great barrel of a hall empties, and surmise and speculation over the vote of 431 for Lynch and 387 for Clayton spreads over the town.

PROCEEDINGS IN DETAIL.

The full proceedings of this most important convention in detail will be found below. On the first day of the session, Tuesday, June 3d, the convention was called to order at 12.25 by United States Senator Sabin, of Minnesota, as follows:

Gentlemen of the Eighth Republican National Convention: The hour having arrived appointed for the meeting of this convention, it will now be opened with prayer by Rev. Frank Bristol, of Chicago.

The prayer was then offered by Mr. Bristol as follows:

"God of our fathers, we adore and worship Thee, and to Thee, by whose grace and providence we are what we are, as a nation, we would lift our hearts in rendering thanksgiving and everlasting prayer.

"We thank Thee for our glorious national heritage, for this magnificent land of wealthy hills and fertile plains, and for the laws and institutions which make it a land of progress and liberty.

"We thank Thee for our Christian sires, lovers of freedom and of God, men of conscience and integrity, whose names have jewelled history, and

the memory of whose deeds is an inspiration to heroism and patriotic pride.

"We thank Thee for Plymouth Rock, for Yorktown, for Appomattox, footsteps to mark the progress of righteousness and the higher law.

"We thank Thee for the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the United States, the Emancipation Proclamation, our blood-bought charter of freedom.

"We thank Thee for the Republican party and for its splendid history, and its still more splendid possibilities. And now, as this great convention enters on a work which will involve the most precious interests of millions of people, and, in a large sense, the interests of free institutions, we devoutly and most earnestly supplicate the blessing of Almighty God. Bless the members of this body, the homes, the States, the parts of the nation which they represent. May the ambition of patriotism, the wisdom of statesmanship and the righteousness of Christian consciousness possess every breast and control every action. And may the result of this convention be in harmony with the will of God concerning us, and be received with joy by the people of the whole land. And grant, Almighty God, that the coming political campaign may be conducted with that intelligence, patriotism and dignity of temper that becomes a great and intelligent people. Continue Thy mercies to us. Bless our country with peace, prosperity and universal enlightenment. May we never deny the faith of our fathers. May we never cease to be a temperate, a free, an industrious, a Sabbath-keeping, a God-fearing and a Christian people, blessed with the righteousness which exalteth a nation. Amen.'

The Chair—The Secretary of the National Committee will now read the call for the convention.

The secretary then read the call.

When he had finished Mr. Sabin addressed the convention as follows:

"*Gentlemen of the Convention:*—On behalf of the National Republican Committee, permit me to welcome you to Chicago. As chairman of that committee it is both my duty and pleasure to call you to order as a National Republican Convention. This city, already known as the 'City of Conventions,' is among the most cherished of all the spots of our country sacred to the memories of a Republican. It is the birth-place of Republican victory. On these fields of labor gathered the early fathers of our political faith and planned the great battle for the preservation of the Union. [Applause.]

"Here they chose that immortal chief that led us on to victory—Abraham Lincoln. [Applause.] Here were gathered in counsel those men who secured the fruits of that long trouble by elevating to the first place in the nation the foremost chieftain of that great contest—General Grant. [Loud applause.] Here was afterwards witnessed that signal triumph, which anticipated the wish of the nation, by nominating, as color-bearer of the party, that honored soldier, that shining citizen, that representative American — James A. Garfield. [Loud applause.] Every deliberation of Republican forces on this historic ground has been followed by signal victory, and every convention on this spot has carried forward our line of battle until to-

day our forces overlook every position of the enemy.

"Indeed, so secure now is the integrity of the Union, so firmly imbedded in the Constitution and laws of the land are the safeguards of individual liberty, so fairly and fully achieved, that, by general consent, the time has now arrived for the new disposition of party forces in contemplation of new lines of operation. Having compassed the defeat of our opponents on all former occasions, the party is about to set its house in order, and take counsel as to the direction and the management of its future course.

"In the comparative lull of party strife, which distinguishes the present condition of national politics, there is discernible an increasing disposition to look after the men who are to execute, and the methods that are to guide them in the execution of the powers committed to them for the management of the affairs of the Republic. As a result of the rule adopted in the last National Republican Convention, this convention finds itself constituted of a large majority of gentlemen who have been clothed with the delegated powers of the convention in their several congressional districts. On this consideration may be grounded a hope that the voice of the people [applause] will, beyond recent precedent, be felt in moulding the work you are assembled to perform, so that its results may be such as to win the unhesitating and undivided support of every lover of those principles by which the party has heretofore triumphed and yet will triumph. [Applause.]

When we consider the memories of the past so intimately connected with this city, and even with

this edifice, which the people of Chicago have so generously placed at your disposal; when we reflect upon the deep-seated concern among all people in the result of your deliberations, and the various incentives to the abandonment of personal ambitions in the interest of the party welfare, you cannot wonder that the Committee, and beyond it the great Republican masses, extend you a most hearty welcome to this scene of labor, in the constant hope that your efforts will result in such an exposition of Republican doctrine and disclose such a just appreciation of Republican men in the choice of your nominees as to rejoice the hearts of your constituents and keep victory on the side of your ever victorious banner. In conclusion, at the request of the National Republican Convention, I have to propose to you as temporary chairman of this Convention the Hon. Powell Clayton, of Arkansas. [Loud applause.]

The remaining preliminaries were such as must always be arranged in a National Convention. A temporary organization was effected, the credentials of delegates from the various States and Territories were examined, committees were appointed, incidentally speeches were made, the leading spirits of the Convention began to get their work in, the favorites were received with applause when they made their appearance, and through it all the buzz of electioneering for the different candidates went on. There was suppressed excitement which was only waiting its opportunity to break out and go crazy over some "favorite son."

The first day was consumed in getting the huge body into shape and readiness for the serious business on hand. The Convention comprised a fine body of men—men who were intelligent, quick of apprehension, evidently bent on business, earnest in spirit and able as statesmen and as political leaders.

The feature of the second day of the Convention was the enthusiasm over Blaine, during which an unprecedented scene was witnessed. When the committee on permanent organization was ready to report, Smalls, the colored delegate from South Carolina, and one or two others, questioned the propriety of making the permanent organization before the credentials committee had reported as to the title of contested delegates, but these few objectors were quietly overruled, as they were in 1880, and the chairman of the committee, George Williams, of Indiana, presented the report.

It advised the election of ex-Senator John B. Henderson, of Missouri, as permanent chairman of the Convention, together with a long list of vice-presidents and secretaries, too numerous even to be read to the Convention. There were not half a dozen dissenting votes to the adoption of the committee report. Some of the Blaine leaders had been advised to oppose the election of Henderson by moving to substitute Galusha A. Grow, of Pennsylvania, but this they refused to do. Several days ago one of the most prominent of the

Blaine managers publicly avowed that the election of General Henderson as permanent president of the Convention would be acceptable, and soon afterward General Henderson publicly declared that he would not present President Arthur's name to the Convention.

Knowing General Henderson's choice to be Arthur, the Blaine managers were perfectly willing to give him a solid vote for permanent chairman. As soon as the election was announced, Mr. Lynch appointed Mr. Grow, Mr. Hoar, of Massachusetts, and Mr. Williams, of Indiana, a committee to escort Mr. Henderson to the chair. The temporary chairman then placed his soft black felt hat on the desk before him, stuffed a few pamphlets in his pocket, and prepared to vacate a seat to which for the first time in the history of the party a man of his color has been elected.

Loud cheering greeted Henderson as, flanked on either side by this distinguished escort, he ascended the platform and advanced to the desk. The presiding officer of the Convention is a tall, slender, well-proportioned man, who does not look to be over forty-five years of age, but is considerably older. He has regular features, blue eyes, thin, brown hair, a bald spot on the back of his skull, carefully-trimmed brown chin-whiskers, and, with gold-bowed glasses astride his nose, looks the picture of an active, prosperous lawyer.

From the outside pocket of Mr. Henderson's

coat protruded the end of a package of manuscript containing his address to the Convention. He laid this paper on the desk and took the handle of the new gavel, trimmed with ribbons, in his hand, and sharply rapped the body to silence. A bustling usher advanced and pinned a huge white silk, gold-tasseled badge upon the lapel of Mr. Henderson's coat, and, with a prefatory cough, he began to read his speech.

The Convention listened quietly until the Chairman, with questionable taste, called attention to some of the more prominent men upon whom it could fitly bestow the honor of the nomination. Without mentioning names, Mr. Henderson, in unmistakable terms, brought out singly the different candidates who are most prominently discussed. First on his list was Arthur, and, as he complimented the Administration, a cheer, loud, brief, and by no means enthusiastic, was given by the President's followers.

His next reference was to Vermont's candidate, and the few Edmunds men in the hall made all the noise they could. The reference to John Sherman brought forth shrieks of delight from half the Ohio delegation and a few men in the galleries. Logan was next on the list, and he received the loudest and heartiest applause of any of the gentlemen before mentioned. His friends in the Convention and among the spectators—they were numerous—shouted at the top of their lungs for the Senator from Illinois.

Almost before the echo of the last cheer had died away the Chairman said: "Maine has her honored favorite, whose splendid abilities and personal qualities have endeared him to the hearts of his friends, and the brilliancy of whose genius challenges the admiration of all."

Before the words were fairly out of the Chairman's mouth the Pennsylvanians on the front row began to cheer. The faint opening applause extended and swelled until, from the rear of the stage to the end of the hall, a hoarse reverberating roar arose and echoed from end to end of the building and outside, until the noise was audible above the bustle of street traffic two blocks away.

The first wild burst of enthusiasm only added fuel to the flame, and a second great, spontaneous, full-hearted cheer rose from the floor to the rafters and fairly shook the structure. Then followed a scene seldom witnessed in any public body, and never equalled in National Conventions of late years. The delegates, alternates and spectators rose to their feet as by a common impulse, and testified their admiration of the people's candidate. Cheers, shouts, sharp screams and animated howlings broke upon the Convention with appalling force.

Men tossed their hats in the air, waved pocket-handkerchiefs, shook their canes, mounted chairs, leaped back and forth in the aisles, and acted like madmen. The New York delegation, excepting a

few Edmunds men, was on its feet, screaming as loudly as the Pennsylvanians, while Ohio and Illinois contributed liberally to the racket.

The tremendous burst of enthusiasm carried away the colored brethren, and they screamed with true Methodistic camp-meeting fervor. Exhausted at last, the noise abated only to be again renewed with fresh force. Four times the Convention rose to its feet, and four times did the vast assemblage exhaust itself in noise. A little knot of New England people only kept their seats, and were not budged by the excitement.

The display of public sentiment in Blaine's behalf was not unexpected, but it overwhelmed those gentlemen who, for three days past, had been working by hook or crook to defeat the people's choice. It revealed to them, as by the flash of an electric light, the vast and irresistible force demanding his nomination for the Presidency. It showed them the weakness of their own cause in a manner not susceptible of argument, and threw a wet blanket upon their burning hopes of bringing forth the dark horse winner. At last the excitement abated, and the president readjusted his glasses, preparatory to resuming his speech. He had hardly opened his mouth when a voice high up in the gallery over the stage in a shrill tone exclaimed: "Hit 'em agin!" and for the last time a wild roar of applause went through the vast hall.

CHAPTER XV.

Enthusiasm for the Plumed Knight.

The third day of the Convention was of much more importance than the preceding, and two sessions were held. In the morning legislation for the party was discussed and adopted and the national platform was agreed upon.

The proposition of a minority of the Committee on Rules, changing the basis of representation in the National Convention from the present electoral system to that of the voting strength of the party on an apportionment, after each presidential election, commended itself to the conservative sentiment of the Convention, but it had the misfortune to be considered before the nominations were made. The consequence was that it was unmercifully handled. The Southern delegate resented it with some heat as an attempt to curtail his rights, and at this particular time the friends of no candidate were desirous of treading on the toes of the Southern delegate.

Martin I. Townsend, representing Arthur, and Judge West, of Ohio, representing Blaine, came to his rescue. Everybody seemed to have something to say against the proposition, and even Massa-

chusetts, where it originated, finally put forward General Long with a motion to bury it in the National Committee room. Decent burial, however, was considered too decent for it with the Southerners holding the balance of power between candidates, and so it was ignominiously voted down.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions caused no debate. Everybody was equally surprised at its length and breadth and thickness. "Very strong and very Blainey," was one comment, and Murat Halstead said Blaine's tracks ran all over it like the track of a buzz saw.

The call of States for the appointment of members of the National Committee brought the Convention to the dinner recess. These appointments were not so easily made as heretofore, for the reason that a rule passed in the morning disqualified for membership the office-holding class, of which the committee has been heretofore in the main composed.

In view of the confusion caused by this new deal a good many States were not prepared, and begged to be excused when their names were called. It was a little disappointing that the Convention did not begin the work of nomination before dinner; but neither side seemed quite ready, and so there was a skip of the whole afternoon in fixing the hour of recess.

The few hours of delay seemed to feed instead of wasting the enthusiasm of the Blaine columns.

Their headquarters were in the possession of a shouting mob. In the rotunda, on another floor of the hotel, a glee club, hired by the Arthur managers at $50 a day to go around and sing popular songs with the name of the President ingeniously interwoven therein, tried to make a diversion, but without avail. The audience good-naturedly applauded the singing, but filled every pause with three cheers for Blaine.

The climax of excitement seemed reached when a band came marching into the hotel playing, "Rally around the flag, boys," and followed by an impromptu procession of about 1,000 men, bearing aloft a portrait of Blaine, wearing Blaine badges and hoarse with Blaine cheers.

The crowd turned in behind and, marching out of the hotel, moved in a body, with continual reinforcements, towards the Convention hall, and when it arrived there it was almost a mob. It was through this phalanx of Blaine's followers and in this Blaine atmosphere that the exercises of the evening began.

The scene at the night session was one of the most impressive ever known in American political history, and is thus described by an eye witness in a peculiarly graphic manner:

"A thousand gleaming gas-lights, 10,000 eager faces, long rows of brilliant banners and waving flags, and the flashing coats-of-arms of the States formed a dazzling picture in Exposition Hall to-

night. The business of the evening was the nomination of candidates for President, and the session, while lacking the excitement of balloting for choice, was the most entertaining of the Convention.

"Long before the delegates took their seats every chair allotted to spectators was filled. The handsome toilettes of the ladies formed a rich background to the dark outline of the men. Two banks of humanity, one piled up to the roof in the rear of the stage, and the other heaped in ascending tiers to a height of fifty feet at the rear of the hall, faced each other. On the two raised platforms stretching the whole length of the vast auditorium on either side were packed like sandwiches rows of favored spectators. First come first served is the rule in the management of the Convention, and this rule applies to the seats improperly supposed to have been reserved for the press as well as those assigned to the public.

"Outside the building, at the hour of meeting, fully 5,000 people stood patiently in line waiting an opportunity to enter. Stupid doorkeepers, insolent watchmen and consequential ushers did all in their power to annoy and harass the people. Half an hour before the Convention met, the delegates began to enter the hall, the band played with renewed vigor, and the peddlers of fans did a lively business.

"The atmosphere of the hall was hot and oppressive. Hardly a breath of air passed through the open window in the roof, and the heat of the gas and the warmth of the crowd raised the temperature to an uncomfortable degree. As one after another of the most prominent delegates entered they were faintly cheered by their friends

in the audience, but there was none of the hotly expressed admiration for individuals that was a marked feature of the Convention of 1880.

"As a matter of fact there has been but little marked personal leadership on the floor of the Convention for any of the candidates, and the local favorites are not numerous. Mr. Hoar is almost certain to receive a tender welcome. He is remembered as the presiding officer of the Convention four years ago. Chairman Henderson, Secretary McPherson, young Roosevelt and Lodge, ex-Congressman Lynch, Galusha A. Grow, George William Curtis, Senator Mahone and General Carr, of Illinois, are among the best known men in the hall.

"The most striking feature at night is the faces of the people. The gas-lights are so arranged that they seem to throw a peculiar ghastly pallor upon the countenances of those beneath, making them appear almost waxen in color. This array of upturned, animated faces, seen from the stage elevation, possesses a fascination for the on-looker that rivals the interest felt in the proceedings.

"At 7.30 o'clock the gavel of Chairman Henderson fell sharply upon the desk, and instantly a hush fell upon the great assembly. Hardly had the echo of the hammer died away when the sharp voice of Mr. Dutcher, of New York, was heard moving the adoption of a resolution to issue 500 additional tickets of admission to the already overcrowded hall. The resolution was adopted. Bayne, of Pennsylvania, moved that the call of the members of the National Committee, announced this afternoon, be reread, but his request was greeted with hisses.

"There seemed to be a suspicion that Colonel Bayne desired delay, and there was loud applause as Augustus Brandegee stepped from a seat in the rear of the chairman and advanced to the front of the stage, Connecticut being first in the list of States called for the nomination of candidates. Brandegee presented the name of General Hawley. A thick, broad-shouldered, heavy-set man, under medium size, somewhat resembling Secretary Bristow in personal appearance, his face adorned with a heavy, short-cropped, gray moustache and a tuft of gray whiskers, is Brandegee. He is not an accomplished orator, but an excellent rough-and-ready talker.

"The nomination of General Logan was seconded by General Prentiss, of Missouri, a venerable, gray-haired, gray-bearded man, somewhat resembling in appearance a Methodist parson, and in the trembling tones of his voice the oratory of a Baptist class-leader. Mr. Prentiss made a speech of such length that the impatient Convention cheered and hissed him down. Indiana was called next, but did not, as was expected, present the name of Harrison. Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, were slowly called by the Clerk, with no response.

"'Maine,' he shouted, and sank back into his seat, knowing full well the response that would follow. There was an instant, clear, loud, wild burst of applause that seemed to come from the throat of every man in the hall. To describe, in its fullness of enthusiasm, in its spontaneity of sentiment, in its fervor of devotion, the scene that followed—a scene such as was never before witnessed in a National Convention—is well-nigh impossible.

"First came the cheer rattling through the hall like a volley of infantry; then deepening, as it grew in force, like the roar of cannon, and swelling as it progressed like the crash of a thunderbolt across the skies. From the stage to the end of the hall, a distance of the eighth of a mile, the cheering, rolling in dense waves of sound, hoarse and shrill, sharp and clear, commingling in a wild tumult of applause, which, in the minds of all who heard it, and of those who witnessed the great scene, meant the nomination of James G. Blaine.

"With common impulse the audience, delegates and spectators, jumped to their feet. Staid old politicians on the platform, venerable senators and representatives, long tried in Congress; new delegates, who were never before in a National Convention, were drawn into the whirlpool of excitement as straws are sucked into the eddies of a river. Every delegate, save a bare patch here and there on the floor, where the friends of Arthur and of Edmunds sat, mounted his chair and took part in the demonstration.

"Looking over the human sea from the stage to the balconies, there was a surging mob of men and women waving hats, umbrellas, parasols and flags. Against the dark background a thousand white handkerchiefs swung over the heads of the excited audience, dotted the hall with specks of white, like the caps of the breakers on a stormy sea. Men put their hats on the tops of canes and waved them high over their heads. Women tore their bright fichus and laces from around their snowy necks, and leaning far forward over the galleries, frantically swung them to and fro to give emphasis to their shrill screams of joy.

"From outside the glass windows under the dome of the hall, where an adventurous crowd of men and boys had gathered to witness the proceedings, loud cat-calls and screams were heard above the roar beneath. Men hung dangerously over the front of the galleries and waved the ends of banners that had been fastened there as decorations to the hall.

"The Arthur delegates from New York and the Edmunds delegates, who had at first refused to leave their seats, were compelled by natural impulse and curiosity to mount their chairs, and soon many a well-known anti-Blaine delegate was seen waving his hat and cheering as loudly as any supporter of the Plumed Knight.

"When, tired with cheering and lung-exhausted, the din ceased in one part of the hall, it would be taken up in another part, and the tumult renewed. Senator Warner Miller, usually impressive and never flustered, advanced from a seat in the rear of the chairman to the front of the stage, and, waving his arms wildly over his head, shouted his loudest, and then, as if realizing the undignified character of his deportment, beckoned a messenger and directed him to hurry Judge West to the platform..

"Mr. Henderson vainly pounded his gavel for order. Its dull beats upon the hollow desk were no more audible to the wild crowd in the hall than were the strains of the band in the rear to the cheering spectators on the platform. The applause echoed blocks away along the streets leading to the Exposition Building, and the engineers of the locomotives on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, in the rear of the hall, added to the din by loud shrieks from the whistles of their engines.

At last, exhausted, the tumult ceased, not on the instant, but by degrees, fitful cheers being given long after Judge West reached the platform and was escorted to his seat.

"The man selected to present Blaine's name to the Convention is blind. He was helped to the platform by two sturdy young men, who carefully guarded his progress up the steep steps and along the tortuous aisles to the seat provided for him on the left of the presiding officer's chair.

"Judge West seems to be nearing the goal of three-score and ten. His silver gray hair was smoothly brushed away from a noble forehead. Time had implanted deep wrinkles and furrows around the sharp features of an intelligent face. White chin whiskers and a white, close-cut moustache hid his mouth and resolute square-cut chin. A prominent nose and bushy eyebrows give character if they do not add beauty to his countenance. Dressed plainly in black, wearing no ornament save a blue Blaine badge on the lapel of his coat and a small watch-chain, the old man leaned back in his arm-chair and faced the surging mob, as, though blind, he felt himself its master.

"For the last time the applause rolled through the hall and ended in a wild roar as the Ohio orator rose to his feet and, lifting his right hand above his head, by gesture compelled silence. Ten minutes of uproar and storm were followed by stillness in which a whisper could be heard as the first clear, distinct, sharp tones of the speaker rolled through the building. The clean cut sentences, brilliant delivery and confident manner of the speaker captivated the crowd. They were in sympathy with him from the start, and he retained his grasp upon their feelings to the finish.

"As he made point after point in the opening of his speech, roar after roar of applause echoed through the hall. 'Shall the Republican party triumph again?' exclaimed the orator, after alluding to its victories in the past. 'Yes, with James G. Blaine,' yelled one of the delegates in the front row, and the audience again leaped forward and gave a tremendous cheer.

"'Who shall be our candidate?' shouted Judge West as leaning back in the chair from which he delivered the greatest part of his speech, he brought a big palm leaf fan high above his head and seemingly awaited a reply. 'Blaine!' 'Blaine!' 'Blaine!' was the stentorian reply, and another burst of applause put a temporary end to Judge West's speech.

"The bold orator in a single sentence denounced the candidacy of Arthur, characterizing him as the candidate of Wall Street and the bankers, and he predicted if nominated that the resurrectionists could not fathom the depth of his grave next November.

"At last the supreme moment came. When Judge West formally put Blaine in nomination a scene followed of a description never equalled and utterly indescribable. Compared to the first outburst, the second ovation to Blaine was as the full burst of a storm after the grumblings of early thunder have passed.

"The audience rose to its feet, impelled by an irresistible impulse to testify their admiration for the great Republican candidate. Grave men acted as though mad. Newspapers were torn into bits, and scattered high in the air, active boys clambered along the high rafters over the hall and, detaching the flags, passed them down to men in the front row of

the galleries, who waved them frantically over the heads of those below, and the bands three times essayed to drown the noise by playing their loudest air.

"It was futile. Men drew off their coats and shook them in the air. Umbrellas were hoisted and waved over the heads of their owners. Again handkerchiefs were brought forth, and swung to and fro like snowflakes in a hurricane. Those too tired to shout gave shrill whistles, and pandemonium universal and all-pervading seemed to have broken forth.

"The most delightful picture of the evening, and one observed by few, occurred on the stage when Mr. Elkins, Blaine's life-long friend and chief manager, and Senator Tom Cooper, of Pennsylvania, embraced, each trying to out-tire the other in their mutual contributions to the common din. The California delegation, which has done some of Blaine's best work here, was on its feet, cheering as loudly as Rocky Mountain throats could swell. Congressman Tom Bayne, of Pennsylvania, another of the Blaine managers, formed one of the loudest crowds of shouters.

"George William Curtis sat in his seat at the head of the New York delegation, blushing and paling by turns, astounded by the demonstration and unable to quell it. A faint smile overspread his genial countenance as the uproar continued, but it was not a smile of satisfaction. Young Roosevelt, of New York, and Lodge, of Massachusetts, sat in their places uneasy and disconsolate. Not so Senator Hoar. The excitement was too much for him, and he mounted his chair, and looked over the thousands of people who were

shouting and screaming like madmen. The negroes from the South joined in the furore, and were the noisiest of the delegates.

"When at last there seemed a prospect that the cheering would end, some enthusiastic friend of Blaine brought into the hall, before the Chairman's desk, a huge American flag, and placed upon the top of the staff a helmet of flowers, surmounted by a long white plume, the helmet of Navarre. Again did the audience cheer, until it seemed as though the throats of men would burst. The flag and helmet were raised to the stage, and again a deeper, longer, louder cheer arose. Ladies took flowers from their belts and threw them in the air. The atmosphere was fanned by the waving of innumerable banners.

"The decorations were stripped from the wall by the excited audience, and shook madly in the air. Full fifteen minutes were consumed in this unprecedented demonstration.

"James G. Blaine," closed Judge West, and another great roar went up like the noise of many waters, sweeping the great waves of sound around the hall; and the crowd without, by this time aware of what was under way, answered in a muffled roar, which echoed within. The old man ceased, with the echo of his eloquence still filling all the air, ten thousand people swaying like reeds in the wind under his voice, and feebly groped to leave the platform. A friend was at his side in an instant, and Edward McPherson laid about the old man's shoulders his long blue, old-fashioned cloak, and, drawing it closer to him, its folds falling straight, the speaker took a seat behind. By contrast with the wild tempest of sound just before,

the rustling movement and stir and talk which fill this great house of sounds with perpetual murmurs, seemed silence itself as Governor Davis, of Minnesota, a full, round man with a bulging frock-coat, strong face and a black moustache, arose. For once and for the first time in the three times in which James G. Blaine has been put before a National Convention in nomination the work has been well and skillfully planned, and performed as well. The voice of Governor Davis is none of the best by contrast with the resonant tones with which Judge West had filled the great house of sounds.

"Governor Davis seemed feeble, but, catching after a sentence or two the attention of the Convention, he recalled, in a few well-turned sentences, the recent political past of James G. Blaine, which had led him heartily to support after two conventions the candidates who had defeated him. In five minutes he was done, but again, at every reference, near or remote, to the great candidate before the Convention, there came the old swelling echo of sound. State followed State, and section section in the presentation of Blaine's name. Cassius M. Goodloe spoke next for the South and for Kentucky. Himself built and raised after the Kentucky model, large, tall, straight and shapely, and with a voice like a trumpet, his say was short and straight. He claimed for Southern Republicans the right and readiness to support the Northern choice.

"There was a pause of an instant, that was silence by the side of uproar, and Thomas C. Platt, of New York, stood by the Chairman with his short figure and sloping, smooth forehead. In ten

sentences he pledged New York, and, since he, too, had the privilege to speak the name of Blaine before the Convention, was rewarded with such a burst of applause as few speakers gain in a lifetime, applause which was cut and scarred by hisses from the benches where the New York 'boys' sat. He closed, and Grow, with his courtly presence, stepped on his chair, and in his turn pledged the leading Republican State of the Union, Pennsylvania, in fluent, effective speech.

"It is one of the misfortunes of this great gathering that no man is fairly treated unless he drowns all sound with a torrent of voice, and it was not until Grow took the platform, and an Ohio delegate pleaded for fair play, that Grow was heard through, and then another shout, a swaying tempest of hats and canes, and Blaine's welcome was over. It had been of a character and volume, of an intensity of enthusiasm which seemed there and then to settle the nomination of Blaine and determine the choice of the Convention by its own act.

"Arthur's welcome followed hard on in shout, volume and enthusiasm, a worthy second. 'Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey,' the gray-coated secretary, in his colorless voice was saying, as he read the list of States—'New York.' It was like match to powder, like the flash and reflection of light from a turning mirror. Up went half of the New York delegation with a shout; up went the Southern States by squads and platoons; up went the corporal's guard in Pennsylvania, which latter furnished Arthur a second abler far than his original nominator.

"The Convention was flooded again with sound and uproar in such down-pour as only this human

Niagara can match or equal. Delegates, alternates, banks of spectators, galleries, the stage, were all one wild Babel of yell, shout and cheers, one swaying mass of delirious men and women, one long, broad sea of sound, which surged and swung from wall to wall.

"It was less in volume than Blaine's welcome, for through the din could be faintly heard the band, which the earlier uproar had utterly drowned and extinguished as the sea sucks up the rivers, but next to that outburst stood this wild roar. Bit by bit out of mere noise there came purpose and plan.

"The welcome to Blaine had left the flags in the galleries in the hands of his friends, and, after more than one friendly battle for the standard, these began to wave along all the front of the galleries. Two flags were torn from the wall, found their way to Texas and Tennessee, waved there and then were passed to New York, where they were waved for an instant over the delegation and then began their march down the aisle.

"All this in a great roar, in which man could shout to man ten feet off and be unheard. A rugged-faced Western journalist put his hands to his lips and sounded a Comanche whoop, and a Western delegate re-echoed it, and this 'Wah, wah, wah-o-o-o' cut through the noise. Nothing else did. Minute by minute the din grew; minute by minute through fifteen minutes this uproar lasted. The human voice at its loud uttermost, coats and hats in the air, umbrellas circling round and round, handkerchiefs whitening the air."

CHAPTER XVI.

Blaine Nominated.

The morning of June 6th, 1884, is probably one of the most memorable in the history of political conventions in the United States. Never was there a more patriotic, enthusiastic mass of men gathered together than there was in the Chicago Exposition building on that day. The work was over; all that remained was to have that work tested. It was tested, and the voice of the people was heeded. James G. Blaine, the Maine statesman, was nominated as the candidate of the Republican masses. The scene in that great hall was one that beggars description. A prominent English journalist thus gives his impression of it:

"It has been my fortune to see some of the most gorgeous and remarkable spectacles that have taken place in the Old World during the last fifteen years, but I have seen none more remarkable than the Republican Convention which has just closed in the nomination of James G. Blaine for President of the United States. Three successive viceroys and governors-general I have seen arrive in Bombay to rule the 250,000,000 of India in the name of Queen Victoria. When Lord Mayo

reached the western shore of India he was received by thousands of white and dark soldiers, a crowd of gorgeous officials, salvos of artillery, and plenty of flags flying, all a sad enough contrast with the way in which, not long after his assassination by a Mohammedan convict in the Andaman Islands, his body was borne on board a British man-of-war in Bombay harbor, and carried back to England.

"I saw Lord Northbrook, the next viceroy, travel in triumphal state through many of the native states, where rajahs and maharajahs came forth to do him homage with troops of elephants covered with brocades of gold and silver, dancing girls, whose lithe, dusky bodies shone in silks and gems; soidars, followed by their picturesque and swarthy warriors, Rajpoors, Mahrattas, Bengalese, stalwart Sikhs and olive Madrasees. I have seen Lord Lytton parading the length and breadth of Hindostan, smoking innumerable cigarettes, and behaving with the childish antics of an excited Frenchman, amid surroundings of human and architectural Oriental magnificence of the most marvellous description.

"Beneath the scarred and battered walls of Delhi I saw the Prince of Wales received by all the chiefs of Northern India and the Punjaub, accompanied by five hundred splendidly bedizened elephants, three thousand horses covered with cloth of gold, and twenty thousand native and European troops. I followed him into Cashmere where the Maharajah Runjeet received him in his winter capital perched among the Himalayan Mountains. Buddhist Llamas danced grotesque dances disguised in the horns and hides of wild

beasts; dancing girls, the flash of whose black eyes emulated the splendor of their jewels, and with frontlets of golden coins that descended from beneath abundant tresses of shining jet, clapped their bangled hands and whirled their feet to the music of lascivious dances; elephants, horses, and yaks from Thibet swelled the procession that swept up the hills in the purple light of a ruby and opal sunset, and troops of soldiers arrayed in scarlet, blue, and green, kept guard among the forests of pines and rhododendrons.

"I have seen Victoria open her Parliament, the marriage of not a few of her progeny, and the review of more than eighty thousand of her British and Hindoo troops. I have seen her Majesty proclaimed as Empress on the plains of Delhi, from a splendid pavilion surrounded by the silken canopies of hundreds of princes and nobles, whose ancestors were famous, splendid, and civilized, when hers were wandering savages amid the forests of Europe and Great Britain. Certainly all these spectacles were gorgeous, worthy to leave an indelible impression upon the least susceptible of minds. But, shall I tell you? not one of them impressed me nearly so much as the Convention which has just culminated in the nomination of Blaine.

"What is the reason? It is this. Many of the scenes I have mentioned were more splendid, more capable of pleasing the senses, but they were all characterized by a certain want of soul, and had none of that deep, powerful, electrifying enthusiasm which I have just witnessed as the accompaniments of a United States Republican nomination. When I recall those marvellous bursts of cheering which greeted the mere mention of the name of

Blaine; that frantic, long-continued shouting of a vast and earnest multitude; that wild hat-waving, banner-waving, and handkerchief-waving; that rolling thundering of the feet like the sonorous boom of a ponderous surf upon a steep, oriental shore; that great hall radiant with the gaudy-colored symbols of federated States, that fluttered, agitated by the mighty storm of applause, above the heads of 10,000 soul-stirred men—I am bound to confess that I never saw such a scene, and do not believe that such an one could be possible in any country on earth where the people have not their government in their own hands.

"The scene to me was like the embodied, tumultuously earnest soul of a great free nation. The millions of Hindostan, which England holds down by the sword and the cannon, her subjects in Great Britain may be pleased with a royal pageant at a coronation or a wedding; her colonies in Canada may be tickled and delighted with the ceremonies attending the arrival of a viceroy, thrust upon them without their wishes being consulted; but neither in Hindostan, the British Isles, nor in her dependencies can she ever hope to see such a gathering under her constitution, for constitutional purposes, as the Republicans of the United States have just presented in Chicago. England or any other monarchial nation on earth must be like Byron's celebrated description of Greece; it may be fair, but you are bound to start because soul is absent.

"The intense enthusiasm of the Republican Convention is, to my mind, a proof that no nation, as a nation, can possess a heart so warm and strong, a soul so earnest, determined and so grand, as a people who themselves possess the complete pow-

ers of their own government, and the election of their own chief officers to carry on that government for the good of the citizens at home and abroad.

"I feel still the thrill of indescribable enthusiastic tumult which swept James G. Blaine onwards to the forefront of the nation, and it would have been well for every monarch-ridden man in the world if he, too, could have been present in the Exposition Building to feel it, and ponder on its lessons of the rights and glory of absolute freedom."

THE "PLUMED KNIGHT'S" VICTORY.

It did not take later than the hour of meeting for the anti-Blaine men to find out that the Blaine managers had not fought off a ballot the night before because they feared it. Another recess had been spent in hopeless attempts to make a winning combination, and morning found Arthur making no headway, Edmunds supported by a forlorn hope, Sherman surely shrinking, and nobody else within the longest range of the nominating lightning. The inevitable ballot was approached by the Blaine men hopefully and by the opposition sullenly.

It was a surprise in that it showed Blaine to have a larger first ballot strength than his managers had claimed, and Arthur less than anybody, even the most enthusiastic of his opponents, had suspected. The weakness of the administration cause being thus exposed, the nomination of Blaine

might have been effected without further delay, but the Convention resolved itself into a mob, and the Edmunds and Arthur people made up in noise what they lacked in numbers, so that it was really economic of time to stick to the prearranged Blaine schedule of four ballots.

The Convention was called to order at 11.19 A. M. by Chairman Henderson, who said:

"The Convention this morning will be opened by prayer by the Rev. Henry Martyn Scudder, of Chicago."

Mr. Scudder, pastor of Plymouth Church, Chicago, offered the following prayer:

"Almighty and ever blessed God, we worship Thee as the author of our being, as the creator of our mortal bodies and of our immortal spirits, and we adore Thee as the inexhaustible personal source of all light and love and truth and liberty and peace and gladness, and we do glorify Thee as the Supreme Law-giver and as the only rightful sovereign of all hearts and all consciences, and we do thank Thee with reverence and gratitude for the benignant providence which, from the very beginning, has watched over our beloved country. We thank Thee for its manifold deliverances in times of national peril, for its grand victory over slavery, for its symmetric development under Thy protecting care, and for its present advancement among the nations of the earth, and we do also bless Thee for our just laws and liberal institutions, for our civil and religious liberty, for our fertile lands and abundant resources, for our great cities and our happy homes.

"We bless Thee, Lord God of truth and grace, for the great faith and for our Christian churches, and for our educational privileges, and for the privileges that Thou dost continually grant to our people for their growth in the knowledge, virtue and power that constitute genuine, rational humanity; and we ask Thee to pronounce Thy benediction upon this Convention, and grant it to-day Thy invaluable support, and that what is done here may be done in righteousness and truth, and in the spirit of patriotism; and may every man in this Convention be endowed with the true inspiration of loyalty and truth and fidelity to the highest interests of our great Republic; and now, finally, Great and Holy God, we pray Thee that this Convention may be led with unanimity to select for nomination to the Presidency of these United States the right man, and when he is selected by this Convention may he be elected by the American people to the chief magistracy of this country, and after he has been elected, if that be Thy will, may his life be precious in Thy sight, and may he be so endowed with every gift that he may give the country an administration that shall be an honor to this Convention, to the Republican party, and the whole American people, and a lesson to mankind; an administration which shall be acceptable in Thy sight, oh Lord of Hosts, Thou, who art the Lord God, and we ask it in the name of our Lord and Redeemer, Jesus Christ. Amen."

The Chair—Gentlemen of the Convention, the Secretary will call the roll of the States and Territories that have not yet given in the names of

the members of the National Committee, and which were passed yesterday.

A delegate from California—I desire to offer a resolution without comment.

Mr. Davis, of Illinois—I demand the regular order; I object to this resolution.

The Secretary then proceeded to call the roll of the States for National Committeemen, as follows:

California, Horace Davis; Colorado (a delegate from Colorado: "Pass Colorado for the present"); Florida (a delegate from Florida: "Pass Florida"); New Hampshire, Edwin H. Fallett; Tennessee, W. D. Brownlow; District of Columbia, Mr. Carson: "We have not agreed yet, and I am satisfied we will not agree." New Mexico, Colonel William H. Ryners.

A delegate from California—I desire to withdraw the resolution I had in mind. I do so at the request of the members of my delegation.

The Chair—Gentlemen of the Convention, there is now nothing in order except to call the roll for the nomination of a candidate for the Presidency.

Mr. Turner of Alabama—Mr. President, is that call of the roll for balloting?

The Chair—For balloting—the nomination of the candidate.

The Secretary then proceeded to call the roll of States for the vote on a candidate for the Presidency, the first ballot resulting as follows:

THE FIRST BALLOT.

States.	Total vote.	Blaine.	Arthur.	Edmunds.	Logan.	Sherman.
Alabama,	20	1	17	..	1	..
Arkansas,	14	8	4	2	..	..
California,	16	16	..	..	..	..
Colorado,	6	6	..	..	..	..
Connecticut,*	12	..	..	..	..	..
Delaware,	6	5	1	..	..	..
Florida,	8	1	7	..	..	..
Georgia,	24	..	24	..	..	..
Illinois,	44	3	1	..	40	..
Indiana,	30	18	9	1	..	2
Iowa,	26	26	..	..	..	..
Kansas,*	18	12	4	..	1	..
Kentucky,†	26	5½	16	..	2½	1
Louisiana,	16	2	10	..	3	..
Maine,	12	12	..	..	..	..
Maryland,	16	10	6	..	..	..
Massachusetts	28	1	2	25	..	..
Michigan,	26	15	2	7	..	..
Minnesota,	14	7	1	6	..	..
Mississippi,	18	1	17	..	..	..
Missouri,	32	5	10	6	10	1
Nebraska,	10	8	2	..	..	..
Nevada,	6	6	..	..	..	..
New Hampshire,	8	..	4	4	..	..
New Jersey,†‡	18	9	..	6	..	1
New York,†	72	28	31	12	..	..
North Carolina,	22	2	19	..	1	..
Ohio,	46	21	..	..	..	25
Oregon,	6	6	..	..	..	..
Pennsylvania,	60	47	11	1	1	..
Rhode Island,	8	..	..	8	..	..
South Carolina,	18	1	17	..	..	..
Tennessee,	24	7	16	..	1	..
Texas,	26	13	11	..	2	..
Vermont,	8	..	..	8	..	..
Virginia,	24	2	21	..	1	..
West Virginia,	12	12	..	..	..	..
Wisconsin,	22	10	6	6	..	..
Arizona,	2	2	..	..	..	..
Dakota,	2	2	..	..	..	..
Idaho,	2	..	2	..	..	..

States.	Total vote.	Blaine.	Arthur.	Edmunds.	Logan.	Sherman.
Montana,	2	1	..	1	..	..
New Mexico,	2	..	2	..	..	..
Utah,	2	..	2	..	..	..
Washington,	2	2	..	..	..	..
Wyoming,	2	..	2	..	..	..
District of Columbia,	2	1	1	..	..	..
Totals,	820	334½	278	93	63½	30

* Hawley, 12 and 1. † Lincoln, 1 and 2. ‡ W. T. Sherman, 2.

During the roll-call there were numerous calls for a poll of the delegates, which necessitated the calling by the Secretary of the names of the individual delegates in the States from which these calls proceeded. This caused great delay in balloting. After the announcement of the vote by the Secretary, the Chair said:

"A ballot for a candidate for the Presidency having been had without securing a nomination, according to the rules, the Convention will now proceed to another vote. The Secretary will call the roll."

THE SECOND BALLOT.

The Secretary called the roll of States for the second ballot, which resulted as follows:

States.	Total vote.	Blaine.	Arthur.	Edmunds.	Logan.	Sherman.
Alabama,	20	2	17	..	1	..
Arkansas,	14	11	3	..	..	..
California,	16	16	..	..	..	..
Colorado,	6	6	..	..	..	..
Connecticut,*	12	..	..	..	..	..
Delaware,	6	5	1	..	..	..
Florida,	8	1	7	..	..	..
Georgia,	24	..	24	..	..	..
Illinois,	44	3	1	..	40	..

States.	Total vote.	Blaine.	Arthur.	Edmunds.	Logan.	Sherman.
Indiana,	30	18	9	1	..	2
Iowa,	26	26	..	..	..	..
Kansas,*	18	13	2	..	2	..
Kentucky,†	26	5	17	..	2	1
Louisiana,	16	4	9	..	2	..
Maine,	12	12	..	..	..	..
Maryland,	16	12	4	..	..	..
Massachusetts,	28	1	3	24	..	..
Michigan,‡	26	15	4	5	..	..
Minnesota,	14	7	1	6	..	..
Mississippi,	18	1	17	..	..	..
Missouri,	32	7	10	5	8	1
Nebraska,	10	8	2	..	..	..
Nevada,	6	6	..	..	..	..
New Hampshire	8	..	5	3	..	..
New Jersey,†	18	9	..	6	..	1
New York,†	72	28	31	12	..	..
North Carolina,	22	3	18	..	1	..
Ohio,	46	23	..	..	..	23
Oregon,	6	6	..	..	..	..
Pennsylvania,	60	47	11	1	1	..
Rhode Island,	8	..	..	8	..	..
South Carolina,	18	1	17	..	..	..
Tennessee,	24	7	16	..	1	..
Texas,	26	13	11	..	2	..
Vermont,	8	..	..	8	..	..
Virginia,	24	2	21	..	1	..
West Virginia,	12	12	..	..	..	..
Wisconsin,	22	11	6	5	..	..
Arizona,	2	2	..	..	..	..
Dakota,	2	2	..	..	..	..
District of Columbia,	2	1	1	..	..	..
Idaho,	2	..	2	..	..	..
Montana,	2	1	..	1	..	..
New Mexico,	2	..	2	..	..	..
Utah,	2	..	2	..	..	..
Washington,	2	2	..	..	..	..
Wyoming,	2	..	2	..	..	..
Totals,	820	349	276	85	61	28

* Hawley, 12 and 1. † Lincoln, 1, 2 and 1. ‡ W. T. Sherman, 2.

When the announcement was made of the result of the second ballot, owing to the gain shown by the Blaine column, there was wild cheering, which did not subside for several minutes. Upon the partial subsidence of the noise, some delegates shouted for the regular order.

The Chair—No nomination having been made, the Convention will now proceed to the third ballot, and the Secretary will call the roll of States and Territories.

THE THIRD BALLOT.

The Secretary called the roll for the third ballot, which resulted as follows:

States.	Total vote.	Blaine.	Arthur.	Edmunds.	Logan.	Sherman.
Alabama,	20	2	17	..	1	..
Arkansas,	14	11	3	..	..	..
California,	16	16	..	..	..	..
Colorado,	6	6	..	..	..	..
Connecticut,*	12	..	..	..	..	..
Delaware,	6	5	1	..	..	..
Florida,	8	1	7	..	..	..
Georgia,	24	..	24	..	..	..
Illinois,	44	3	1	..	40	..
Indiana,	30	18	10	..	..	2
Iowa,	26	26	..	..	..	..
Kansas,*	18	15	..	..	2	..
Kentucky,†	26	6	16	..	2	1
Louisiana,	16	4	9	..	2	..
Maine,	12	12	..	..	..	..
Maryland,	16	12	4	..	..	..
Massachusetts,	28	1	3	24	..	..
Michigan,‡	26	18	4	3	..	1
Minnesota,	14	7	2	5	..	..
Mississippi,†	18	1	16	.	..	..
Missouri,	32	12	11	4	4	..

States.	Total vote.	Blaine.	Arthur.	Edmunds.	Logan.	Sherman.
Nebraska,	10	10	..	..	..	..
Nevada,	6	6	..	..	..	..
New Hampshir	8	..	5	3	..	..
New Jersey,†	18	11	1	..	..	..
New York,	72	28	32	12	..	..
North Carolina,	22	4	18	..	..	..
Ohio,	46	25	..	..	..	21
Oregon,	6	6	..	..	..	..
Pennsylvania,	60	50	8	1	1	..
Rhode Island,	8	..	..	8	..	..
South Carolina,	18	2	16	..	..	..
Tennessee,	24	7	17	..	..	..
Texas,	26	14	11	..	1	..
Vermont,	8	..	..	8	..	..
Virginia,	24	4	20	..	..	..
West Virginia,	12	12	..	..	..	..
Wisconsin,‡	22	11	10	..	..	..
Arizona,	2	2	..	..	..	..
Dakota,	2	2	..	..	..	..
Idaho,	2	1	1	..	..	..
Montana,	2	1	..	1	..	..
New Mexico,	2	..	2	..	..	..
Utah,	2	..	2	..	..	..
Washington,	2	2	..	..	..	..
Wyoming,	2	..	2	..	..	..
Dist. of Columbia,	2	1	1	..	..	..
Totals,	820	375	274	69	53	25

*Hawley, 12 and 1. †Lincoln, 1, 1 and 6. ‡W. T. Sherman, 1 and 1.

While the roll was being called for the third ballot the count in Kentucky and Massachusetts was challenged, but upon dissatisfaction being expressed each of the gentlemen challenging withdrew the challenge. When eighteen votes were announced for James G. Blaine from the State of Michigan there was tremendous cheering. When Nebraska was reached Mr. Thurston arose and said:

"Mr. Chairman: Nebraska, with her fifty thousand Republicans—"

Here again a profound hostility appeared to prevail among the audience against further oratory, and it was manifested in the most vociferous manner. The Chairman finally succeeded in getting order, and Mr. Thurston continued—"casts ten votes for James G. Blaine," and sat down amid tremendous noise.

While the roll was proceeding and after the State of Nevada had been called, delegates were seen rushing through the aisles in various directions. When North Carolina was reached there was a great deal of uproar and the Chair said: "The gentlemen in the aisles will please take their seats and the Sergeant-at-Arms will please see that they do so." An assistant Sergeant-at-Arms rushed around at a terrific pace insisting with vehemence that the order applied with peculiar force and especially to the reporters.

When the result of the third ballot was announced there was another scene of wild confusion and cheering. When opportunity offered, Judge Foraker, of Ohio, was recognized by the Chair.

Judge Foraker—I move that we take a recess until half-past 7 o'clock this evening.

Mr. Dutcher, of New York—I second the motion for a recess.

On the question of adjournment there were many

delays, occasioned by the demand from certain of the States for a polling of the vote. The result on the vote was yeas, 364; nays, 450. This announcement produced another season of wild cheering, during which Mr. Foraker, of Ohio, again arose in his seat.

Mr. Foraker, of Ohio—I move that the rules of this Convention be suspended, and that James G. Blaine be nominated by acclamation. [Loud applause and great confusion.]

Mr. Roosevelt, of New York—It cannot be done. [Loud cries of "Roll-call, roll-call," and continued confusion.]

Mr. Winston, of North Carolina—I move that we proceed with the order of business—proceed to call the roll for another ballot. [Loud cries of "Call the roll, call the roll," and great confusion.]

Mr. Houck, of Tennessee—I desire to inquire how Mr. Cassel, of Tennessee, is recorded? [Continued confusion, and cries of "Too late, too late," and "Roll-call, roll-call."]

Mr. Foraker—My motion is that the rules of this Convention be suspended, and that James G. Blaine be nominated by acclamation. [Loud and long-continued cheers and great confusion.]

Mr. Roosevelt, of New York—I ask for roll-call.

Mr. Burrows, of Michigan—I demand the regular order and a call of the roll. [Loud cheers.]

Mr. Roosevelt, of New York—On behalf of New York I ask for a call of the roll. [Great confusion

Mr. Burrows, of Michigan—I demand a call of the roll and I move that we proceed to ballot. [Continued confusion and commotion in the hall.]

Mr. Foraker, of Ohio—In order that the time of this Convention may be saved, at the request of several members, I withdraw the motion I made.

The Chairman directed the Clerk to call the roll of States for the fourth ballot.

THE FOURTH BALLOT.

The Secretary called the roll of the States for the fourth and last ballot as follows:

States.	Total vote.	Blaine.	Arthur.	Edmunds.	Logan.	Sherman.
Alabama,	20	8	12	..	..	..
Arkansas,	14	11	3	..	..	..
California,	16	16	..	..	..	..
Colorado,	6	6	..	..	..	..
Connecticut,*	12	..	..	..	..	..
Delaware,	6	5	1	..	..	..
Florida,	8	3	5	..	..	..
Georgia,	24	..	24	..	..	..
Illinois,	44	34	3	..	6	..
Indiana,	30	30	..	..	..	..
Iowa,	26	24	2	..	..	..
Kansas,	18	18	..	..	..	..
Kentucky,†	26	9	15	..	1	..
Louisiana,	16	9	7	..	..	..
Maine,	12	12	..	..	..	..
Maryland,	16	15	1	..	..	..
Massachusetts,	28	3	7	18	..	..
Michigan,	26	26	..	..	..	..
Minnesota,	14	14	..	..	..	..
Mississippi,	18	2	16	..	..	..
Missouri,	32	32	..	..	..	..
Nebraska,	10	10	..	..	..	..
Nevada,	6	6	..	..	..	..

States.	Total vote.	Blaine.	Arthur.	Edmunds.	Logan.	Sherman.
New Hampshire,	8	3	2	3	..	..
New Jersey,	18	17	..	1	..	..
New York,*†	72	29	30	9	..	..
North Carolina,*	22	8	12	..	..	..
Ohio,	46	46	..	..	..	..
Oregon,	6	6	..	..	..	..
Pennsylvania,	60	51	8	1	..	..
Rhode Island,	8	7	1	..	..	..
South Carolina,	18	2	15	1	..	..
Tennessee,	24	11	12	..	..	..
Texas,	26	15	8	..	..	..
Vermont,	8	..	..	8	..	..
Virginia,	24	4	20	..	..	..
West Virginia,	12	12	..	..	..	..
Wisconsin,	22	22	..	..	..	..
Arizona,	2	2	..	..	..	..
Dakota,	2	2	..	..	..	..
District of Columbia,	2	1	1	..	..	..
Idaho,	2	2	..	..	..	..
Montana,	2	2	..	..	..	..
New Mexico,	2	..	2	..	..	..
Utah,	2	2	..	..	..	..
Washington,	2	2	..	..	..	..
Wyoming,	2	2	..	..	..	..
Totals,	820	541	207	41	7	..

* Hawley, 12, 2 and 1. † Lincoln, 1 and 1.

During the ballot, when the State of Arkansas was called, Mr. Burrows, of Michigan, arose and said:

"I rise to a question of order. It is utterly impossible to hear a word unless order is restored. Unless that order is restored I shall move that this Convention adjourn to a hall by itself to finish these proceedings." [Great applause, confusion and laughter.]

The vote of Florida was polled on the fourth

ballot. When the name of Joseph E. Lee, of Florida, was called, he said: "The old guard dies, but never surrenders—Chester A. Arthur." [Applause.] When Georgia was called, the chairman of the delegation, Mr. Buck, said: "Before coming into this Convention the delegation of Georgia agreed to act as a unit. A majority of the delegation are still for Chester A. Arthur, and unless a vote is called I shall announce twenty-four votes for Arthur." [Loud applause and cries of "Good! good!"]

The Chair—Is there any contest in Georgia? [Loud cries of "No, no."]

The Chair—Georgia then casts her twenty-four votes for Chester A. Arthur. [Loud applause.]

When Illinois was called the chairman of the delegation, Mr. S. M. Cullom, said: "I ask leave of this Convention to read a dispatch which I received a few moments ago from General John A. Logan, addressed to the Illinois delegation. [Loud cries of "Regular order, regular order," "We object," "Call the roll," and great confusion.]

Mr. Cullom—To the Republicans [loud cries of "Order! Call the roll! Regular order!"]—I am directed by General Logan to read it to this Convention, and shall send the dispatch to the desk to be read. [Loud cries of "No! no!" and great confusion.]

Mr. Burrows, of Michigan—I make the point of order that the reading of the dispatch is not in

order, and nothing but the announcement of the vote is in order. [Loud applause.]

The Chair—The Chair sustains the point of order. [Loud applause.]

Mr. Cullom—The Illinois delegation then withdraws the name of General Logan, and gives for Blaine 34 votes, for Logan 7, and for Arthur 3. [Loud applause and loud cheers.]

When the State of Ohio was called, Judge Foraker arose and said: "For what I suppose to be the best interests of this party, I presented the name of John Sherman to this Convention. Also supposing it to be for the best interests of the party, we have until now favorably and most cordially supported him. Now, also, in the interests of the party, we withdraw him and cast for James G. Blaine forty-six votes." [Tremendou outburst of applause.]

The Secretary then announced the result of the fourth ballot for President as follows: Whole number of delegates, 820; whole number of votes cast, 816; necessary to a choice, 411; of which Robert T. Lincoln received 2, John A. Logan 7, Joseph R. Hawley 15, George F. Edmunds 41, Chester A. Arthur 207, and James G. Blaine 544.

The Secretary's announcement of the vote for James G. Blaine got no further than the hundreds, for his voice was lost in the whirlwind of applause that followed the announcement of the fact of Blaine's nomination, which had been a certainty

ANNOUNCING RESULT OF THE FOURTH BALLOT, NOMINATING BLAINE.

ever since Shelby M. Cullom had tried to read his telegram from John A. Logan. Every person in the audience, delegates and visitors alike, rose to their feet simultaneously, and all being Blaine men, shouted and sang their delight at the success of the man from Maine with demonstrations of joy such as had not been seen before in the Convention. It took nearly thirty minutes to get to business.

The Chair—Gentlemen of the Convention [the ushers making diligent efforts to restore quiet], Order! [At this point the booming of the cannon was heard, which caused renewed cheering. The Convention at length becoming comparatively quiet the Chairman resumed.] James G. Blaine, of Maine, having received the votes of a majority of all the delegates elected to the Convention—[the Chairman at this point finding himself unable to make his voice heard in the confusion that prevailed handed the written announcement to the Secretary, who read it as follows:]

James G. Blaine having received the votes of a majority of all the delegates elected to this Convention, the question now before the Convention is, shall the nomination of Mr. Blaine be made unanimous. [Cries of "Yes."] On that motion the Chair recognized Mr. Burleigh, of New York.

Mr. Burleigh having taken the platform, said:

Mr. President—In behalf of the President of the United States, and at his request, I move to

make the nomination of James G. Blaine unanimous, and I promise for the friends of President Arthur, who are always loyal at the polls, and for Northern New York, 20,000 Republican majority, and I promise you all that we will do all we can for the ticket and for the nominee, and will show you in November next that New York is a Republican State. It elected James A. Garfield and it will elect James G. Blaine, of Maine. [Applause.]

The Chair—The gentleman from Minnesota has the floor.

Mr. Sabin, of Minnesota, having the floor, said:

Mr. Chairman, four yours ago, in this very hall, and as a delegate to the National Republican Convention, I was opposed to Chester A. Arthur and to the elements with which he then associated. Since then he has been called, under the most trying circumstances, to fill the first place in the gift of the people of this country. So well, so nobly, so faithfully has he fulfilled this trust, and so happily has he disappointed, not only those of his opponents, but his friends, so fully has he filled the position of the scholar and the gentleman, that he is possessed of that great, good common sense, which has made his administration a great and pronounced success, that he has grown upon me, until to-day I honor and revere Chester A. Arthur. [Applause.] As a friend of his, I no less honor and revere that prince of gentlemen, that scholar, that gifted statesman, James G. Blaine, whose nomination it affords me the greatest pleasure to second, with the prediction that his name

before the country in November will produce that same spontaneous enthusiasm which will make him President of the United States on the 4th of March next. [Loud and prolonged applause. Cries of Curtis.]

Mr. Plumb, of Kansas—Mr. Chairman, this Convention has discharged two of its most important trusts, and is now, notwithstanding the length of time it has been in session and the exciting scenes through which it has passed, in thorough good humor, and I believe we are ready to go on and conclude the business which brought us all here. [No, no.]

Mr. Houck, of Nebraska—There is a motion to make the nomination unanimous. That is the question before the Convention, and I call for the regular order.

Mr. Plumb, of Kansas—Before proceeding with that I desire to respond to the sentiment which pervades the entire Convention. I move that this nomination be made unanimous, and I hope there will not be a dissenting voice in all this vast assemblage.

The Chair—I have been requested to read to the Convention the following telegraphic despatch:

The President has sent the following despatch to Mr. Blaine:

The Hon. James G. Blaine, Augusta, Maine—As the candidate of the Republican party you will have my earnest, cordial support.

The Chair—Shall the motion to make the nomination unanimous prevail? All those in favor of that will say aye [the tremendous shout of "aye" sent up by the vast multitude clearly demonstrated the fact that the nomination was made unanimous.]

Mr. Husted, of New York—I move that this Convention do now adjourn until eight o'clock this evening. The motion prevailed.

The Convention then adjourned until eight o'clock in the evening.

There was a very large attendance, as well of delegates as of spectators, at the evening session. The galleries were hardly less crowded than at any of the preceding sessions; but there was a marked absence of any other feeling than one of simple curiosity. It was 8.15 o'clock when the Chairman's gavel fell, calling the Convention to order.

The resolution limiting speeches of nomination to ten minutes passed, and the clerk proceeded to call the roll of States for nominations. No response was received until Illinois was reached, when Senator Plumb, of Kansas, said that it was but a matter of just recognition to the great body of the soldiers of the war for the Union, that a representative from their number should be placed as the second name on the ticket. The Grand Army of the Republic had enrolled more than three-quarters of a million men who lately wore the blue. In presenting a name from their ranks,

the Speaker would mention a man fitted in every way for the first place; a man who would add strength to the ticket, and justify the hopes and expectations of the party. That man was General John A. Logan. The speaker did not present him on behalf of Illinois, or of any other State, but of the whole United States. He belonged no more to Illinois than to Kansas, where 75,000 soldiers would receive the news of his nomination with shouts of gladness. The speaker was commissioned by the State of Kansas to make this nomination.

The nomination was seconded by Judge Houck, of Tennessee; Hon. J. M. Thurston, of Nebraska; Senator Joseph W. Lee, of Pennsylvania; Congressman Horr, of Michigan; John C. Dancy, colored, and delegates from Georgia and Kentucky.

A motion was made to nominate Logan by acclamation. This method was tried but did not prove satisfactory, and, after several speeches were made, Congressman Davis, of Illinois, demanded a call of the roll on the nominations. This was ordered. When New York was reached, George William Curtis announced that his delegation was not quite ready, and asked that time be given to make the count. The request was granted, and the call proceeded.

The roll being completed, New York was again called, and Mr. Curtis announced the vote of that State as one vote for Foraker, of Ohio; six votes

for Gresham, of Indiana, and sixty votes for Logan. The vote was unanimous, with the exception of these seven from New York, Logan's total vote being 779. The nomination was then made unanimous.

It would be impossible in the above detailed description of the proceedings to tell of the tumultuous enthusiasm that prevailed from the time the Convention began until its work was ended. No better idea can be given than that of a gentleman who wrote the following letter to a friend. The description is a most graphic one:

"James G. Blaine is nominated.

"Twice defeated for the nomination, once in 1876 by the jealousy of a part of New England and the opposition of Ohio and the South and once in 1880 by the machine, the choice of Republican States and Republican voters has become at last the choice of the Republican party. Yesterday evening left without question or challenge the position he occupied before the Convention. He was the first choice of an overwhelming plurality. He was the second choice of an equally overwhelming majority. No one candidate could equal his strength on the first ballot and no combination of candidates could equal the number of those who, when their first choice was laid aside, preferred James G. Blaine to any other man within the party.

"These things were plain. They pointed to a logical result, which accident might prevent or intrigue defeat, but the course and outcome of the

day showed that neither could accomplish its purpose. He was nominated. The steady march of Republican desires, begun long ago in village primaries and the county caucus, had to-day its long drawn triumph and crowning suffrage. Step by step the work in the Convention went on.

"The roll-call for the first ballot is over at last. Then clerks bend over the tally sheets, innumerable pencils pass up and down, and, as Henderson rises to give the result, there is a wild sway and raid of telegraph boys about the correspondent's desk. All over the land men are putting up before listening thousands the tally: Blaine, 334½; Arthur, 278; Edmunds, 93; Logan, 63½; John Sherman, 30; Hawley, 13; Lincoln, 3; General Sherman, 2. The first ballot ends in a Blaine storm checked as the second ballot opens.

"Changes begin. Arkansas adds three votes to Blaine. A dozen States pass, and the vote stands unchanged. The second ballot goes on and Blaine is gaining. Every vote is watched with breathless interest followed by tumults of applause. The Blaine men feel that they are gaining ground. The Arthur men know that they are losing. The Edmunds men are disconsolate. The ballot ends, and Blaine is further to the front.

"With Blaine at 349 and Arthur at 276, however, the gap was widened past repair between the candidates, and it was plain when order came again, such order as this restless mob gives, that the next ballot must make or mar all the plans of the past or assure all the hopes of the future.

"In the midst of it, his lips vainly forming sentence after sentence, stands Foraker, slender, well-built, his face shining with the effort and his voice

carried away by the Blaine gale. Minute by minute passes before a lull comes, and then it becomes known, rather by men passing the word along than by any hearing of his words, that he moves a recess until 7.30.

"It was the last uncertain chance to defeat Blaine, the bare possibility that five hours of cabal might bring the candidate, in place of Blaine, whom five months of popular agitation and discussion had not evolved.

"Straightway Stewart, steadying himself, shouts in the storm that breaks on Foraker's motion that the opposing forces have passed the skirmish line and the battle must join. For the first time in the frequent popular calls for Blaine his cause has had good management before the Convention. For the first time it had now a leader in the Convention. There is in the stress and storm of these conflicts the shock, if not the danger, of battle, and Stewart, by voice and manner, by look and gesture, standing erect, his face aflame and his arm extended, threw into his manner all that a leader in the forefront needed. This may not be the best way to decide momentous issues; but, given these conditions, by such leadership is victory won, and won it was."

While these stirring scenes were being enacted in Chicago, Mr. Blaine was at his home in Augusta, Maine, with his family. He heard the news a very few moments after the final ballot was taken. The now nominee of the Republican party was quietly swinging in a hammock under a spreading apple tree, and sitting round him were

Mrs. Blaine and two of her daughters, Miss Stanwood (Mrs. Blaine's sister), Miss Dodge ("Gail Hamilton"), Mr. and Mrs. Homan, Miss Manly and Miss Johnson.

His demeanor of quiet composure was in nowise disturbed from what it has been all through the past week.

"I did not expect a definite result so soon," said Mr. Blaine, addressing one of the group, "but the anxiety in regard to the nomination question is over at least."

NOMINATED BY THE POPULAR WILL.

To Mr. Sprague, editor of his home paper, who at this moment put in his appearance, he said: "Well, the biggest liar in the country cannot say I schemed, or dictated, or traded, or had anything to do with the nomination or Convention. I have asked no delegate to vote for me; have written to no man, not even to Mr. Manly or Mr. John A. Stevens, or Mr. Bigelow, or my friend Homan here. To no one have I said one word in any way, manner or shape that can in any way be construed to be a bid or move toward this nomination."

At this instant the report of the old cannon on the wharf at Hallowell, said to be one that was used on the "Boxer" during her fight with the "Enterprise," gave the first boom for Blaine that was sounded in the State of Maine.

"Isn't this glorious!" cried Miss Dodge to some

ladies who had just driven up. The first congratulatory despatch received by Mr. Blaine was from General Collis, of New York, and was sent before the final vote was taken.

SOUNDS OF REJOICING.

Mr. Blaine and his entire family seemed just as quiet and unconcerned as ever; but as the crowd of friends increased and the streets around began to be crowded with village folks shouting their huzzas and pushing to get the best view of the happy party on the lawn, the children began to show signs of excitement. Then Miss Dodge caught the sound of the church bells as they began to ring, and this was followed by shrieks of steam whistles from factories and steamers on the river. The noise as it increased began to relax the severe strain which the entire family held over their feelings, and one by one they grew more animated, a brighter light came to the eye, and the voices were raised a little higher.

The air was filled with shouts of joy as the throngs grew thicker on the streets. The bells and guns from Hallowell and Gardiner, two and six miles down the river, joined in the general din. Newspaper correspondents began to make their way along to the party on the lawn, and Mr. Blaine himself began to show the effects of the tremendous excitement as the crowd grew larger and the noise increased in volume. It seemed as

though every workshop and store had emptied itself into the streets, and everybody was excited and jubilant.

The Democrats caught the excitement, and were inclined to feel that the selection of an Augusta resident was at least an honor to good citizens, and they were willing to join in the glad celebration going on.

Congratulatory despatches kept coming in as fast as the facilities of the telegraph office could receive them. Extra operators and a large force of messengers were put on. The local train from Gardiner and Hallowell brought in all that could stand upon it. The 8 o'clock train also brought crowds. At 8.30 a procession was formed in the square down town. Headed by a brass band, they marched over the city and to Mr. Blaine's house, where they began the celebration that will be kept up the remainder of the campaign.

When the procession reached Mr. Blaine's residence on Commercial street it halted, and the spokesman of the party cried: "Three cheers for the next President of the United States." A storm of cheers followed. In response, Mr. Blaine appeared at the doorway and surveyed the assembled multitude for a moment. All demonstration was quickly hushed, and Mr. Blaine spoke as follows:

"My friends and my neighbors—I thank you most sincerely for the honor of this call. There is no spot in the world where good news comes to

me so gratefully as here at my own home, among the people with whom I have been on terms of friendship and intimacy for more than thirty years —people whom I know and who know me. Thanking you again for the heartiness of the compliment, I bid you good-night."

There was a happy gathering that night in the Blaine mansion. Long after the rest of the family had retired, Mr. and Mrs. Blaine sat up and talked about the gratifying result of the Convention's work. Mrs. Blaine was proud and happy; proud of her noble husband and his great abilities, and happy because the people had rebuked treachery and called him to be their standard-bearer to lead them on to victory at the polls. Mr. Blaine showed no excitement whatever. He was calm and collected, and after talking for an hour or two, went to bed and slept as soundly as though he had not passed through weeks of waiting for the people's decision.

CHAPTER XVII.

Mr. Blaine Accepts the Nomination.

NEVER was a presidential nomination more spontaneous than that which placed the banner of his great party in the hands of the "Plumed Knight." He had received over 7,000 letters urging him to be a candidate, but had not answered one. When the news came from Chicago he received it with calm satisfaction, and said he received the nomination with greater pleasure from the fact that it was entirely unsolicited.

His friends and neighbors soon crowded about him to extend their congratulations. The telegraph wires were burdened with messages of good-will. The first came from President Arthur. In any other man the generosity and promptness of the pledge might have excited surprise; in Chester A. Arthur it was only natural.

To the Hon. James G. Blaine, Augusta, Maine:

As the candidate of the Republican party, you will have my earnest and cordial support.

CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

Another brought the benediction of a bereaved home, and there came with it a voice from beyond the grave.

CLEVELAND, O., June 7.

To Hon. James G. Blaine:

Our household joins in one great thanksgiving. From the quiet of our home we send our most earnest wish that through the turbulent months to follow, and in the day of victory, you may be guarded and kept.

LUCRETIA R. GARFIELD.

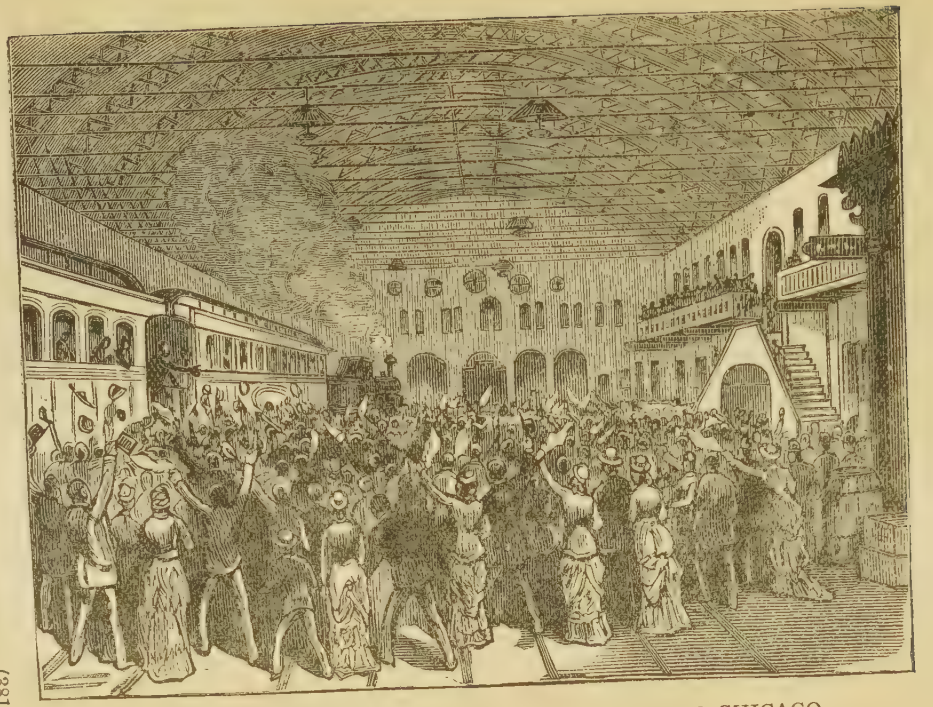
In Augusta the good news was hailed with great rejoicing by the fellow-citizens of the honored candidate. Bells were rung and cannon fired. Far into the night the streets were thronged with people filling the air with their lusty cheers for the "Man from Maine."

Early in the evening a crowd gathered about Mr. Blaine's house, and in response to the cheering, he appeared at the door and briefly addressed them:

MY FRIENDS AND MY NEIGHBORS: I thank you most sincerely for the honor of this call. There is no spot in the world where good news comes to me so gratefully as here at my own home; among the people with whom I have been on terms of friendship and intimacy for more than thirty years, people whom I know and who know me. Thanking you again for the heartiness of the compliment, I bid you good-night.

INFORMED OF HIS NOMINATION.

The committee appointed to inform Mr. Blaine of his nomination performed that duty at Augusta, June 21. The ceremony took place on the lawn near the house. Representatives of every State and Territory were there. Mr. Henderson, as chairman of the



THE RETURN OF THE MAINE DELEGATES FROM CHICAGO,
AFTER NOMINATING JAMES G. BLAINE.

Committee and on behalf of the Convention, in a few well-chosen words formally tendered to Mr. Blaine the nomination of the Republican party for the Presidency of the United States. During the address of the chairman Mr. Blaine stood with folded arms, the central figure of a brilliant and picturesque group. And then with a becoming recognition of the present honor and the responsibility which was its price, and with a hopeful look into the face of the future, which seemed in the stillness of that perfect June day to whisper back a glad "Hail and Welcome," he briefly responded, accepting the nomination:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE: I receive not without deep sensibility your official notice of the action of the National Convention already brought to my knowledge through the public press. I appreciate more profoundly than I can express the honor which is implied in a nomination for the Presidency by the Republican party of the nation—speaking through the authoritative voice of duly accredited delegates. To be selected as a candidate by such an assemblage from the list of eminent statesmen whose names were presented, fills me with embarrassment. I can only express my gratitude for so signal an honor, and my earnest desire to prove worthy of the great trust reposed in me.

In accepting the nomination, as I now do, I am impressed, I might almost say oppressed, with a sense of the labor and responsibility which attach to my position. The burden is lightened, however, by the hosts of

earnest men who support my candidacy, many of whom add—as does your honorable committee—the cheer of personal friendship to the pledge of political fealty.

A more formal acceptance will naturally be expected, and will in due season be communicated. It may, however, not be inappropriate at this time to say that I have already made careful study of the principles announced by the National Convention, and that in the whole and in detail they have my heartiest sympathy, and meet my unqualified approval.

Apart from your official errand, gentlemen, I am extremely happy to welcome you all to my home. With many of you I have already shared the duties of public service, and have enjoyed the most cordial friendship. I trust your journey from all parts of the great Republic has been agreeable, and that during your stay in Maine you will feel that you are not among strangers, but with friends. Invoking the blessing of God upon the great cause which we jointly represent, let us turn to the future without fear and with manly hearts.

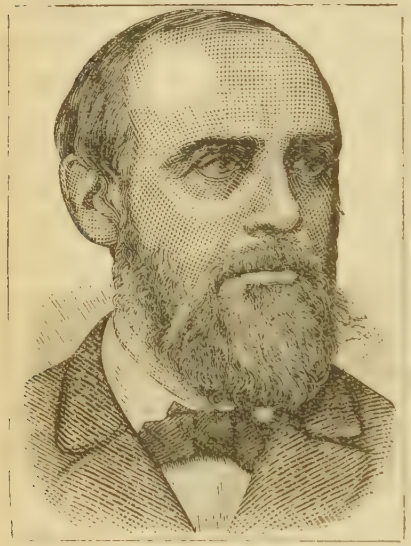
LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

Having accepted the nomination informally, Mr. Blaine afterward forwarded to the National Republican Committee the following letter in which his views on public questions and the leading issues of the campaign were clearly stated, and which was considered to be an admirable presentation of the great principles of the party:

AUGUSTA, ME., July 15, 1884.

The Hon. John B. Henderson and Others of the Committee, etc., etc.

Gentlemen:—In accepting the nomination for the Presidency tendered me by the National Republican Convention, I beg to express a deep sense of the honor which is conferred, and of the duty which is imposed. I venture to accompany the acceptance with some observations upon the questions involved in the contest—questions whose settlement may affect the future of the Nation favorably or unfavorably for a long series of years.



GEORGE HOADLY.

In enumerating the issues upon which the Republican party appeals for popular support, the Convention has been singularly explicit and felicitous. It has properly given the leading position to the industrial interests of the country as affected by the tariff on imports. On that question the two political parties are radically in conflict. Almost the first act of the Republicans, when they came into power in 1861, was the establishment of the principle of protection to Amer-

ican labor and to American capital. This principle the Republican party has ever since steadily maintained, while on the other hand the Democratic party in Congress has for fifty years persistently warred upon it. Twice within that period our opponents have destroyed tariffs arranged for protection, and since the close of the Civil War, whenever they have controlled the House of Representatives, hostile legislation has been attempted—never more conspicuously than in their principal measure at the late session of Congress.

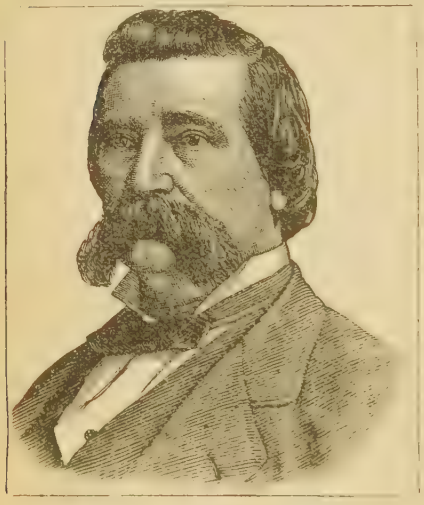
TARIFF REVISION.

Revenue laws are in their very nature subject to frequent revision in order that they may be adapted to changes and modifications of trade. The Republican party is not contending for the permanency of any particular statute. The issue between the two parties does not have reference to a specific law. It is far broader and far deeper. It involves a principle of wide application and beneficent influence, against a theory which we believe to be unsound in conception and inevitably hurtful in practice.

In the many tariff revisions which have been necessary for the past twenty-three years, or which may hereafter become necessary, the Republican party has maintained and will maintain the policy of protection to American industry, while our opponents insist upon a revision which practically destroys that policy. The issue is thus distinct, well defined, and unavoidable.

The pending election may determine the fate of protection for a generation. The overthrow of the

policy means a large and permanent reduction in the wages of the American laborer, besides involving the loss of vast amounts of American capital invested in manufacturing enterprises. The value of the present revenue system to the people of the United States is not a matter of theory, and I shall submit no argument to sustain it. I only invite attention to certain facts of official record which seem to constitute a demonstration.



JOHN A. LOGAN.

HOW RICH IS OUR NATION?

In the census of 1850, an effort was made for the first time in our history to obtain a valuation of all the property in the United States. The attempt was in a large degree unsuccessful. Partly from lack of time, partly from prejudice among many who thought the inquiries foreshadowed a new scheme of taxation, the returns were incomplete and unsatisfactory. Little more was done than to consolidate the local valuation used in the States for purposes of assessment, and that differs widely from a complete exhibit of all the property.

In the census of 1860, however, the work was done

with great thoroughness — the distinction between "assessed" value and "true" value being carefully observed. The grand result was that the "true value" of all the property in the States and Territories (excluding slaves) amounted to fourteen thousand millions of dollars ($14,000,000,000). This aggregate was the net result of the labor and the savings of all the people within the area of the United States, from the time the first British colonists landed in 1607, down to the year 1860. It represented the fruit of the toil of two hundred and fifty years.

VAST INCREASE OF WEALTH.

After 1860 the business of the country was encouraged and developed by a protective tariff. At the end of twenty years, the total property of the United States, as returned by the census of 1880, amounted to the enormous aggregate of forty-four thousand millions of dollars ($44,000,000,000). This great result was attained, notwithstanding the fact that countless millions had, in the interval, been wasted in the progress of a bloody war. It thus appears, that while our population between 1860 and 1880 increased sixty per cent., the aggregate property increased two hundred and fourteen per cent., showing a vastly enhanced wealth *per capita* among the people. Thirty thousand millions of dollars ($30,000,000,000) had been added during these twenty years to the permanent wealth of the Nation.

These results are regarded by the older nations of the world as phenomenal. That our country should surmount the peril and the cost of a gigantic war, and

for an entire period of twenty years make an average gain to its wealth of $125,000,000 per month, surpasses the experience of all other nations, ancient or modern. Even the opponents of the present revenue system do not pretend that in the whole history of civilization any parallel can be found to the material progress of the United States since the accession of the Republican party to power.

MORAL PROGRESS.

The period between 1860 and to-day has not been one of material prosperity only. At no time in the history of the United States has there been such progress in the moral and philanthropic field. Religious and charitable institutions, schools, seminaries and colleges have been founded and endowed far more generously than at any previous time in our history. Greater and more varied relief has been extended to human suffering, and the entire progress of the country in wealth has been accompanied and dignified by a broadening and elevation of our National character as a people.

Our opponents find fault that our revenue system produces a surplus. But they should not forget that the law has given a specific purpose to which all of the surplus is profitably and honorably applied—the reduction of the public debt and the consequent relief of the burden of taxation. No dollar has been wasted, and the only extravagance with which the party stands charged is the generous pensioning of soldiers, sailors, and their families—an extravagance which embodies

the highest form of justice in the recognition and payment of a sacred debt. When reduction of taxation is to be made, the Republican party can be

CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

trusted to accomplish it in such a form as will most effectively aid the industries of the Nation.

A RADICAL ERROR.

A frequent accusation by our opponents is that the

foreign commerce of the country has steadily decayed under the influence of the protective tariff. In this way they seek to array the importing interests against the Republican party. It is a common and yet radical error to confound the commerce of the country with its carrying trade—an error often committed innocently and sometimes designedly—but an error so gross that it does not distinguish between the ship and the cargo. Foreign commerce represents the exports and imports of a country, regardless of the nationality of the vessel that may carry the commodities of exchange. Our carrying trade has, from some obvious causes, suffered many discouragements since 1860, but our foreign commerce has in the same period steadily and prodigiously increased—increased, indeed, at a rate and to an amount which absolutely dwarf all previous developments of our trade beyond the sea.

IMMENSE EXPORT TRADE.

From 1860 to the present time, the foreign commerce of the United States (divided with approximate equality between exports and imports) reached the astounding aggregate of twenty-four thousand millions of dollars ($24,000,000,000). The balance in this vast commerce inclined in our favor, but it would have been much larger if our trade with the countries of America—elsewhere referred to—had been more wisely adjusted.

It is difficult even to appreciate the magnitude of our export trade since 1860, and we can gain a correct conception of it only by comparison with preced-

ing results in the same field. The total exports from the United States from the Declaration of Independence in 1776 down to the day of Lincoln's election in 1860, added to all that had previously been exported from the American colonies from their original settlement, amounted to less than nine thousand millions of dollars ($9,000,000,000). On the other hand, our exports from 1860 to the close of the last fiscal year exceeded twelve thousand millions of dollars ($12,000,000,000)—the whole of it being the product of American labor. Evidently a protective tariff has not injured our export trade, when, under its influence, we exported in twenty-four years 40 per cent. more than the total amount that had been exported in the entire previous history of American commerce. All the details when analyzed, correspond with this gigantic result.

THE FARMER LEADS.

The commercial cities of the Union never had such growth as they have enjoyed since 1860. Our chief emporium, the city of New York, with its dependencies, has, within that period, doubled her population and increased her wealth fivefold. During the same period, the imports and exports which have entered and left her harbor are more than double, in bulk and value, the whole amount imported and exported by her between the settlement of the first Dutch colony on the Island of Manhattan and the outbreak of the Civil War in 1860.

The agricultural interest is by far the largest in the

Nation, and is entitled, in every adjustment of revenue laws, to the first consideration. Any policy hostile to the fullest development of agriculture in the United States must be abandoned. Realizing this fact, the opponents of the present system of revenue have labored very earnestly to persuade the farmers of the United States that they are robbed by a protective tariff, and the effort is thus made to consolidate their vast influence in favor of free trade. But, happily, the farmers of America are intelligent, and cannot be misled by sophistry when conclusive facts are before them. They see plainly that, during the past twenty-four years, wealth has not been acquired in one section or by one interest at the expense of another section or another interest. They see that the agricultural States have made even more rapid progress than the manufacturing States.

AGRICULTURE PAYS.

The farmers see that in 1860 Massachusetts and Illinois had about the same wealth—between $800,000,000 and $900,000,000 each—and that in 1880 Massachusetts had advanced to $2,600,000,000, while Illinois had advanced to $3,200,000,000. They see that New Jersey and Iowa were just equal in population in 1860, and that in twenty years the wealth of New Jersey was increased by the sum of $850,000,000, while the wealth of Iowa was increased by the sum of $1,500,000,000.

They see that the nine leading agricultural States of the West had grown so rapidly in prosperity that

the aggregate addition to their wealth since 1860 is almost as great as the wealth of the entire country in that year. They see that the South, which is almost exclusively agricultural, has shared in the general prosperity, and that, having recovered from the loss and devastation of war, it has gained so rapidly that its total wealth is at least the double of that which it possessed in 1860, exclusive of slaves.

THE GREAT HOME MARKET.

In these extraordinary developments the farmers see the helpful impulse of a home market, and they see that the financial and revenue system, enacted since the Republican party came into power, has established and constantly expanded the home market. They see that even in the case of wheat, which is our chief cereal export, they have sold, in the average of the years since the close of the war, three bushels at home to one they have sold abroad, and that in the case of corn, the only other cereal which we export to any extent, one hundred bushels have been used at home to three and a half bushels exported.

In some years the disparity has been so great that for every peck of corn exported one hundred bushels have been consumed in the home market. The farmers see that, in the increasing competition from the grain fields of Russia and from the distant plains of India, the growth of the home market becomes daily of greater concern to them, and that its impairment would depreciate the value of every acre of tillable land in the Union.

INTERNAL FREE TRADE.

Such facts as these, touching the growth and consumption of cereals at home, give us some slight conception of the vastness of the internal commerce of the United States. They suggest also, that in addition to the advantages which the American people enjoy from protection against foreign competition, they enjoy the advantages of absolute free trade over a larger area and with a greater population than any other nation. The internal commerce of our thirty-eight States and nine Territories is carried on without let or hindrance, without tax, detention, or governmental interference of any kind whatever. It spreads freely over an area of three and a half million square miles—almost equal in extent to the whole continent of Europe. Its profits are enjoyed to-day by 50,000,000 of American freemen and from this enjoyment no monopoly is created.

DOMESTIC COMMERCE.

According to Alexander Hamilton, when he discussed the same subject in 1790, "the internal competition which takes place does away with everything like monopoly, and by degrees reduces the prices of articles to the minimum of a reasonable profit on the capital employed." It is impossible to point to a single monopoly in the United States that has been created or fostered by the industrial system which is upheld by the Republican party.

Compared with our foreign commerce, these domestic exchanges are inconceivably great in amount—

requiring merely as one instrumentality as large a mileage of railway as exists to-day in all the other nations of the world combined. These internal exchanges are estimated by the Statistical Bureau of the Treasury Department to be annually twenty times as great in amount as our foreign commerce. It is into this vast field of home trade—at once the creation and the heritage of the American people—that foreign nations are striving by every device to enter. It is into this field that the opponents of our present revenue system would freely admit the countries of Europe—countries into whose internal trade we could not reciprocally enter, countries to which we should be surrendering every advantage of trade; from which we should be gaining nothing in return.

LABOR AND CAPITAL.

A policy of this kind would be disastrous to the mechanics and workingmen of the United States. Wages are unjustly reduced when an industrious man is not able by his earnings to live in comfort, educate his children, and lay by a sufficient amount for the necessities of age. The reduction of wages inevitably consequent upon throwing our home market open to the world would deprive them of the power to do this. It would prove a great calamity to our country. It would produce a conflict between the poor and the rich, and in the sorrowful degradation of labor would plant the seeds of public danger.

The Republican party has steadily aimed to maintain just relations between labor and capital, guarding

with care the rights of each. A conflict between the two has always led in the past and will always lead in the future to the injury of both. Labor is indispensable to the creation and profitable use of capital, and capital increases the efficiency and value of labor. Whoever arrays the one against the other is an enemy of both. That policy is wisest and best which harmonizes the two on the basis of absolute justice. The Republican party has protected the free labor of America so that its compensation is larger than is realized in any other country. It has guarded our people against the unfair competition of contract labor from China, and may be called upon to prohibit the growth of a similar evil from Europe. It is obviously unfair to permit capitalists to make contracts for cheap labor in foreign countries to the hurt and disparagement of the labor of American citizens. Such a policy (like that which would leave the time and other conditions of home labor exclusively in the control of the employer) is injurious to all parties—not the least so to the unhappy persons who are made the subjects of the contract.

AN INTELLIGENT AND VIRTUOUS PEOPLE.

The institutions of the United States rest upon the intelligence and virtue of all the people. Suffrage is made universal as a just weapon of self-protection to every citizen. It is not the interest of the Republic that any economic system should be adopted which involves the reduction of wages to the hard standard prevailing elsewhere. The Republican party aims to elevate and dignify labor—not to degrade it.

As a substitute for the industrial system which, under Republican administration, has developed such extraordinary prosperity, our opponents offer a policy which is but a series of experiments upon our system of revenue—a policy whose end must be harm to our manufactures and greater harm to our labor. Experiment in the industrial and financial system is the country's greatest dread, as stability is its greatest boon. Even the uncertainty resulting from the recent tariff agitation in Congress has hurtfully affected the business of the entire country.

Who can measure the harm to our shops and our homes, to our farms and our commerce, if the uncertainty of perpetual tariff agitation is to be inflicted upon the country? We are in the midst of an abundant harvest; we are on the eve of a revival of general prosperity. Nothing stands in our way but the dread of a change in the industrial system which has wrought such wonders in the last twenty years, and which, with the power of increased capital, will work still greater marvels of prosperity in the twenty years to come.

OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS.

Our foreign relations favor our domestic development. We are at peace with the world—at peace upon a sound basis, with no unsettled questions of sufficient magnitude to embarrass or distract us. Happily removed by our geographical position from participation or interest in those questions of dynasty or boundary which so frequently disturb the peace of Europe, we are left to cultivate friendly relations with all, and are

free from possible entanglements in the quarrels of any. The United States has no cause and no desire to engage in conflict with any Power on earth, and we may rest in assured confidence that no Power desires to attack the United States.

With the nations of the Western Hemisphere we should cultivate closer relations, and for our common prosperity and advancement we should invite them all to join with us in an agreement, that, for the future, all international troubles in North or South America shall be adjusted by impartial arbitration, and not by arms. This project was part of the fixed policy of President Garfield's administration, and it should, in my judgment, be renewed. Its accomplishment on this continent would favorably affect the nations beyond the sea, and thus powerfully contribute at no distant day to the universal acceptance of the philanthropic and Christian principle of arbitration.

NATIONAL BROTHERHOOD.

The effect even of suggesting it for the Spanish-American States has been most happy, and has increased the confidence of those people in our friendly disposition. It fell to my lot as Secretary of State, in June, 1881, to quiet apprehension in the Republic of Mexico by giving the assurance, in an official despatch, that "there is not the faintest desire in the United States for territorial extension south of the Rio Grande. The boundaries of the two Republics have been established in conformity with the best jurisdictional interests of both. The line of demarcation is not merely

conventional. It is more. It separates a Spanish-American people from a Saxon-American people. It divides one great nation from another with distinct and natural finality."

We seek the conquests of peace. We desire to extend our commerce, and in an especial degree with our friends and neighbors on this continent. We have not improved our relations with Spanish-America as wisely and persistently as we might have done. For more than a generation the sympathy of those countries has been allowed to drift away from us.

We should now make every effort to gain their friendship. Our trade with them is already large. During the last year our exchanges in the Western Hemisphere amounted to $350,000,000—nearly one-fourth of our entire foreign commerce. To those who may be disposed to underrate the value of our trade with the countries of North and South America, it may be well to state that their population is nearly or quite 50,000,000, and that, in proportion to aggregate numbers, we import nearly double as much from them as we do from Europe.

UNSATISFACTORY TRADE.

But the result of the whole American trade is in a high degree unsatisfactory. The imports during the past year exceeded $225,000,000, while the exports were less than $125,000,000 — showing a balance against us of more than $100,000,000. But the money does not go to Spanish-America. We send large sums to Europe in coin or its equivalent to pay European

manufacturers for the goods which they send to Spanish America. We are but paymasters for this enormous amount annually to European factors — an amount which is a serious draft, in every financial depression, upon our resources of specie.

Cannot this condition of trade in great part be changed? Cannot the market for our products be greatly enlarged? We have made a beginning in our effort to improve our trade relations with Mexico, and we should not be content until similar and mutually advantageous arrangements have been successively made with every nation of North and South America. While the great Powers of Europe are steadily enlarging their colonial domination in Asia and Africa, it is the especial province of this country to improve and expand its trade with the nations of America. No field promises so much. No field has been cultivated so little. Our foreign policy should be an American policy in its broadest and most comprehensive sense—a policy of peace, of friendship, of commercial enlargement.

A PATRIOTIC NAME.

The name of America, which belongs to us in our National capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism. Citizenship of the Republic must be the panoply and safeguard of him who wears it. The American citizen, rich or poor, native or naturalized, white or colored, must everywhere walk secure in his personal and civil rights. The Republic should never accept a lesser duty, it can never assume a

nobler one, than the protection of the humblest man who owes it loyalty—protection at home, and protection which shall follow him abroad into whatever land he may go upon a lawful errand.

I recognize, not without regret, the necessity for speaking of two sections of our common country. But the regret diminishes when I see that the elements which separated them are fast disappearing. Prejudices have yielded and are yielding, while a growing cordiality warms the Southern and the Northern heart alike. Can any one doubt that between the sections confidence and esteem are to-day more marked than at any period in the sixty years preceding the election of President Lincoln? This is the result in part of time, and in part of Republican principles applied under the favorable condition of uniformity.

PEACE AND PROSPERITY.

It would be a great calamity to change these influences under which Southern Commonwealths are learning to vindicate civil rights, and adapting themselves to the conditions of political tranquillity and industrial progress. If there be occasional and violent outbreaks in the South against this peaceful progress, the public opinion of the country regards them as exceptional, and hopefully trusts that each will prove the last.

The South needs capital and occupation, not controversy. As much as any part of the North, the South needs the full protection of the revenue laws which the Republican party offers. Some of the

Southern States have already entered upon a career of industrial development and prosperity. These, at least, should not lend their electoral votes to destroy their own future.

Any effort to unite the Southern States upon issues that grow out of the memories of the war, will summon the Northern States to combine in the assertion of that Nationality which was their inspiration in the civil struggle. And thus great energies which should be united in a common industrial development will be wasted in hurtful strife. The Democratic party shows itself a foe to Southern prosperity by always invoking and urging Southern political consolidation. Such a policy quenches the rising instinct of patriotism in the heart of the Southern youth; it revives and stimulates prejudice; it substitutes the spirit of barbaric vengeance for the love of peace, progress and harmony.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

The general character of the Civil Service of the United States, under all administrations, has been honorable. In the one supreme test—the collection and disbursement of revenue—the record of fidelity has never been surpassed in any Nation. With the almost fabulous sums which were received and paid during the late war, scrupulous integrity was the prevailing rule. Indeed, throughout that trying period it can be said, to the honor of the American name, that unfaithfulness and dishonesty among civil officers were as rare as misconduct and cowardice on the field of battle.

The growth of the country has continually and necessarily enlarged the Civil Service, until now it includes a vast body of officers. Rules and methods of appointment which prevailed when the number was smaller, have been found insufficient and impracticable, and earnest efforts have been made to separate the great mass of ministerial officers from partisan influence and personal control. Impartiality in the mode of appointment to be based on qualification, and security of tenure to be based on faithful discharge of duty, are the two ends to be accomplished. The public business will be aided by separating the legislative branch of the government from all control of appointments, and the Executive Department will be relieved by subjecting appointments to fixed rules, and thus removing them from the caprice of favoritism. But there should be right observance of the law which gives, in all cases of equal competency, the preference to the soldiers who risked their lives in defence of the Union.

REMOVALS FROM OFFICE.

I entered Congress in 1863, and in a somewhat prolonged service I never found it expedient to request or recommend the removal of a civil officer, except in four instances, and then for non-political reasons which were instantly conclusive with the appointing power. The officers in the district, appointed by Mr. Lincoln in 1861 upon the recommendation of my predecessor, served, as a rule, until death or resignation. I adopted at the beginning of my service the test of competitive

examination for appointments to West Point, and maintained it so long as I had the right by law to nominate a cadet. In the case of many officers I found that the present law, which arbitrarily limits the term of the commission, offered a constant temptation to changes for mere political reasons. I have publicly expressed the belief that the essential modification of that law would be in many respects advantageous.

"COMMERCIAL SENTINELS."

My observation in the Department of State confirmed the conclusion of my legislative experience, and impressed me with the conviction that the rule of impartial appointment might with advantage be carried beyond any existing provision of the civil service law. It should be applied to appointments in the consular service. Consuls should be commercial sentinels—encircling the globe with watchfulness for their country's interests. Their intelligence and competency become, therefore, matters of great public concern. No man should be appointed to an American consulate who is not well instructed in the history and resources of his own country, and in the requirements and language of commerce in the country to which he is sent. The same rule should be applied even more rigidly to secretaries of legation in our diplomatic service. The people have the right to the most efficient agents in the discharge of public business, and the appointing power should regard this as the prior and ulterior consideration.

Religious liberty is the right of every citizen of the

Republic. Congress is forbidden by the Constitution to make any law "respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." For a century, under this guarantee. Protestant and Catholic, Jew and Gentile, have worshiped God according to the dictates of conscience, But religious liberty must not be perverted to the justification of offences against the law.

TREASONABLE POLYGAMY.

A religious sect, strongly entrenched in one of the Territories of the Union, and spreading rapidly into four other Territories, claims the right to destroy the great safeguard and muniment of social order, and to practise as a religious privilege that which is a crime punished with severe penalty in every State of the Union. The sacredness and unity of the family must be preserved as the foundation of all civil government, as the source of orderly administration, as the surest guarantee of moral purity.

The claim of the Mormons that they are divinely authorized to practise polygamy should no more be admitted than the claim of certain heathen tribes, if they should come among us, to continue the right of human sacrifice. The law does not interfere with what a man believes; it takes cognizance only of what he does. As citizens, the Mormons are entitled to the same civil rights as others, and to these they must be confined. Polygamy can never receive National sanction or toleration by admitting the community that upholds it as a State in the Union. Like

others, the Mormons must learn that the liberty of the individual ceases where the rights of society begin.

The people of the United States, though often urged and tempted, have never seriously contemplated the recognition of any other money than gold and silver—and currency directly convertible into them. They have not done so, they will not do so, under any necessity less pressing than that of desperate war. The one special requisite for the completion of our monetary system is the fixing of the relative values of silver and gold.

THE SILVER QUESTION.

The large use of silver as the money of account among Asiatic nations, taken in connection with the increasing commerce of the world, gives the weightiest reasons for an international agreement in the premises. Our Government should not cease to urge this measure until a common standard of value shall be reached and established—a standard that shall enable the United States to use the silver from its mines as an auxiliary to gold in settling the balances of commercial exchange.

The strength of the Republic is increased by the multiplication of land-holders. Our laws should look to the judicious encouragement of actual settlers on the public domain, which should henceforth be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of those seeking homes. The tendency to consolidate large tracts of land in the ownership of individuals or corporations should, with proper regard to vested rights, be discouraged.

One hundred thousand acres of land in the hands of one man is far less profitable to the Nation in every way than when its ownership is divided among one thousand men. The evil of permitting large tracts of the National domain to be consolidated and controlled by the few against the many, is enhanced when the persons controlling it are aliens.

DISPOSITION OF PUBLIC LANDS.

It is but fair that the public land should be disposed of only to actual settlers, and to those who are citizens of the Republic, or willing to become so. Among our National interests, one languishes—the foreign carrying trade. It was very seriously crippled in our Civil War, and another blow was given to it in the general substitution of steam for sail in ocean traffic. With a frontage on the two great oceans, with a freightage larger than that of any other nation, we have every inducement to restore our navigation. Yet the Government has hitherto refused its help. A small share of the encouragement given by the Government to railways and to manufactures, and a small share of the capital and the zeal given by our citizens to those enterprises, would have carried our ships to every sea and to every port. A law just enacted removes some of the burdens upon our navigation, and inspires hope that this great interest may at last receive its due share of attention. All efforts in this direction should receive encouragement.

This survey of our condition as a Nation reminds us that material prosperity is but a mockery if it does

not tend to preserve the liberty of the people. A free ballot is the safeguard of Republican institutions, without which no national welfare is assured. A popular election, honestly conducted, embodies the very majesty of true government. Ten millions of voters desire to take part in the pending contest. The safety of the Republic rests upon the integrity of the ballot, upon the security of suffrage to the citizens.

To deposit a fraudulent vote is no worse a crime against constitutional liberty than to obstruct the deposit of an honest vote. He who corrupts suffrage strikes at the very root of free government. He is the arch-enemy of the Republic. He forgets that in trampling upon the rights of others he fatally imperils his own rights. "It is a good land which the Lord our God doth give us," but we can maintain our heritage only by guarding with vigilance the source of popular power. I am, with great respect, your obedient servant,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Great Campaign of 1884.

THE political battle which followed Mr. Blaine's nomination for the Presidency at Chicago has never been surpassed in this country for unscrupulous means employed to defeat a popular candidate. The bitterest assaults were made upon him, the most outrageous falsehoods were circulated by his enemies, and, as the time for the election drew near, it was universally felt that the result was involved in grave doubt.

A very large number of Republicans, headed by several newspapers which had always heretofore followed the party dictates, bolted the nominations and actively supported Mr. Cleveland, the Democratic candidate.

All sorts of extraneous matters were dragged into the party warfare, some of the assaults on the Republican nominee being of a particularly aggravating character. Most of these were allowed to pass by unnoticed, but one of them was of such a nature that Mr. Blaine brought a suit for libel against a newspaper in Indiana. After a year or two this case was discontinued.

Feeling most acutely the hazardous situation in which he was placed, Blaine went into the canvass with even more than his ordinary energy. He travelled over Ohio, Indiana, New York, and some other States, addressing large meetings and giving counsel to his party leaders. In his speeches he made the doctrine of protection the main issue, thus for the first time in more than a third of a century bringing it to the foremost place in a Presidential campaign.

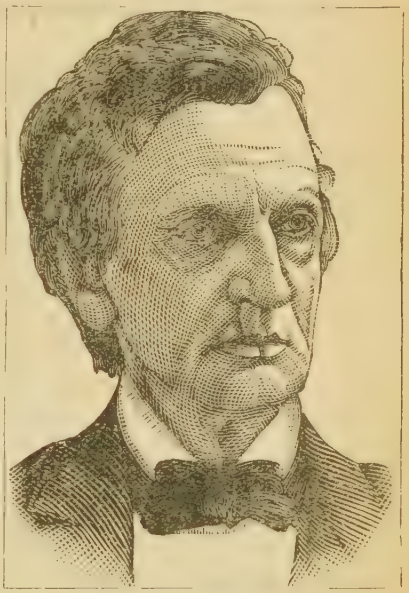
GREETED WITH ENTHUSIASM.

Immense crowds at all points assembled to get a sight of the "Plumed Knight" and hear his soul-stirring speeches. In public halls, in the open air, from the steps of his railway train, his clarion voice thrilled the multitudes and aroused them to unwonted enthusiasm. His tour was a triumphal progress. Ever ready to discuss the issues of the hour, quick in his perceptions of the exigencies of the occasion, rising always in princely fashion to the demands of the moment, he pushed on his vigorous campaign, and infused life and courage into the great party whose standard had been placed in his hands.

The contest was drawing to a close, and a large number of prominent citizens of the city of New York felt that it would be a just tribute to Mr. Blaine's devoted labors in the contest to offer him a public banquet. The invitation was sent, and he replied from Evansville, appointing Wednesday evening, October 29th, as the date most convenient to him.

The company that gathered on that occasion was

one of the most distinguished ever assembled in the Metropolis. Hon. William M. Evarts presided, Mr. Blaine sitting at his right hand, and Hon. L. P. Morton, United States Minister to France, at his left. Other guests at this table were Noah Davis, Presiding Justice of the Supreme Court of New York; ex-Governor Cornell, of New York; Governor Hoyt, of Pennsylvania; Cyrus W. Field, the constructor of the Atlantic cable; and Charles E. Coon, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. At the other tables were many of the most eminent and respected men of New York City, representing all the learned professions and all branches of trade and industry. Various addresses were made, but the chief interest of the evening centred upon that of Mr. Blaine himself, which was as follows:



WILLIAM M. EVARTS.

SPEECH AT THE BANQUET.

It is a great reversal of positions, Mr. President (addressing Mr. Evarts), that makes me hear you ascribe leadership to me. (Applause.) For it has been my duty and my pleasure in these long years to

follow you (applause and cheers); to learn from you wisdom in public affairs, and join with my countrymen in ascribing to you, not merely the great merit of leadership in the noblest of professions, but to yield our admiration for the singular success which has given to you the opportunity to lead in the three most important cases ever pleaded by a member of the American bar. (Applause.) First, in resisting your own party in what you deemed the impolicy, if not the madness, of impeaching a President (cries of "Good! Good!" and cheers); second, in maintaining before the greatest international tribunal that has ever assembled in modern times the rights of your country and obtaining redress for wrongs to her that grew out of the Civil War (applause); and third, in perhaps averting another civil war by pleading before an Electoral Commission a peaceful settlement of the angriest political discussion that ever arose between the parties in the United States. (Applause and cheers.)

I turn now from your President to thank you, merchants, professional men, leaders in the great and complex society of New York—to thank you for receiving me, not merely at this festal board, but also in that far more impressive reception which the close of this rainy day witnesses in your broad and beautiful avenue. I could not, I am sure, by any possible stretch of vanity take this large and generous demonstration to myself. It is given to me only for the time as the representative of the principles which you and I hold in common, touching those great interests which

underlie, as we believe, the prosperity of the Nation. (Applause.) And it is fitting that the commercial metropolis of the continent should lead; it is fitting that the financial centre of the continent should lead; it is fitting that this great city, second only in the world, should give an expression to the continent of its views and its judgment on the important questions to be decided Tuesday next by the American people. (Cheers.)

And I venture—not that I know it so well as you, but that I am spokesman for the present—I venture to remind you, men of New York, with your wealth and your just influence and your magnificent prestige, that seventy per cent. of the entire property of this city has been acquired since Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated, the 4th of March, 1861. I should not mention here a fact of percentage and of statistics if it did not carry with it an argument and a moral. The common apprehension in regard to New York is that it is simply a great commercial city—so great that its exports and imports represent largely the major part of all that is exported from or imported into the United States. That we all know.

But we are often prone to forget that New York is the largest manufacturing city in the world, with perhaps a single exception; that of the $6,000,000,000 of manufactures annually produced in the United States, this great Empire State furnishes one-fifth—$1,200,000,000—of which this great Empire City produces $500,000,000. And from these facts comes that great

sympathy, that identity of interest which has moved the previously existing conflicts between what have been known as the manufacturing and the commercial interests, and has taught us that there can be no true prosperity in the country unless the three great interests comprehended by agriculture, manufactures, and commerce are acting in harmony, the one with the other, and joining together for a common end and for the common good. (Cheers.)

It is usually thought that a change of Government means but little; that we come together with our votes a given day and count them as the sun goes down, and one party goes out and another comes in. But, gentlemen, it is worth while to remember that the United States is proceeding to-day upon a given basis of public policy—I might say upon a given series of public policies. We have a great financial system; we have a great currency system; we have an important National credit; we have a levying of duties, as has been so well described by your distinguished President of the evening, so adjusted that the industries of the country are fostered and encouraged thereby; we have three important constitutional amendments that grew out of the war, upon which, at this hour and in the hours, and the days, and the weeks, and the years to follow, great issues hang in this country.

Are we—if we should be invited to step down and out and our opponents to step up and in (applause)—are we to understand that these policies are to be

reversed? (Cries of "Yes! Yes!") Then if we are to understand that they are to be reversed we should, one and all, prepare for a grand disaster. ("Hear! Hear!" and cheers.) For a single illustration, let me recall to your minds that the repeal of ten lines in the National Banking Act would restore to vitality and vigor the old State-bank system from which we had happily escaped, as we thought, for all the remainder of our lives. (Applause.)

If these policies are to be reversed, you will have to recast your accounts and review your ledgers and prepare for a new, and I may say, a dangerous departure; and if these policies are not to be reversed, they will certainly be better maintained by the great party which originated them and has thus far sustained them with vigor and success. (Applause.)

As I have already said, we speak of New York as the great exporting and importing city, and from that perhaps we often give an exaggerated importance, relatively speaking, to our foreign trade, because this magnificent metropolis never would have attained its grandeur and its wealth upon the foreign trade alone. We should never forget, important as that trade is, representing the enormous sum of $1,500,000,000 annually, that it sinks into insignificance and is dwarfed out of sight when we think of those vast domestic exchanges of which New York is the admitted centre and which annually exceed $2,000,000,000. (Applause.)

Our foreign trade naturally brings to our consideration the foreign relations of this country, so well de-

scribed by my distinguished friend as always simple and sincere. It is the safeguard of Republics that they are not adapted to war. (Cheers.) I mean aggressive war. (Cheers.) And it is the safeguard of this Republic that in a defensive war we can defy the world. (Loud cheering.) This Nation to-day is in profound peace with the world. (Cheers.) But, in my judgment, it has before it a great duty which will not only make that profound peace permanent, but shall set such an example as will absolutely abolish war on this continent, and by a great example and a lofty moral precedent shall ultimately abolish it in other continents. (Great and long-continued cheering.) I am justified in saying that every one of the seventeen independent Powers of North and South America is not only willing but ready—is not only ready but eager—to enter into a solemn compact in a congress that may be called in the name of peace to agree that if, unhappily, differences shall arise—as differences will arise between men and nations—they shall be settled upon the peaceful and Christian basis of arbitration. (Great cheering.)

And, as I have often said before, I am glad to repeat in this great centre of civilization and power that in my judgment no National spectacle, no international spectacle, no continental spectacle, could be more grand than that the Republics of the Western World should meet together and solemnly agree that neither the soil of North nor that of South America

shall be hereafter stained by brothers' blood. (Prolonged cheering.)

The Republican party, gentlemen, cannot be said to be on trial. (Cheers.) To be on trial implies something to be tried for. ("Right!" "That's so!" and cheers.) The Republican party in its twenty-three years of rulership has advanced the interests of this country far beyond that of any of its predecessors in power. It has elevated the standard of America—it has increased its wealth in a ratio never before realized, and, I may add, never before dreamed of. (Great cheering.)

Statistics, I know, are dry; and I have dwelt so much upon them in the last six weeks that they might be supposed to be especially dry to me. And yet I never can forget the eloquence of the figures which tell us that the wealth of this great Empire State when the Republican party took the reins of government was estimated at $1,800,000,000, and that twenty years afterward, under the influence of an industrial and financial system for which that party is proudly responsible (great applause), under the influence of that industrial and financial system, the same tests which gave you $1,800,000,000 of property in 1860 gave you $6,300,000,000 in 1880. (Loud and long continued cheering.) There has never been in all the history of financial progress—there has never been in all the history of the world—any parallel to this; and I am sure, gentlemen, that the Republican party is not arrogant nor over-confident when it claims to itself the

credit of organizing and maintaining the industrial system which gave to you and your associates in enterprise the equal and just laws which enable you to made this marvelous progress. (Great cheering.)

As I have said, that party is not on trial. If it has made mistakes, they have been merged and forgotten in the greater success which has corrected them. (Cheers.) If it has had internal differences, they are laid aside. (Cheers.) If it has had factional strife, I am sure that has ceased. (Renewed cheering.) And I am equally sure that, looking to the history of the past and looking to that great future which we are justified in prophesying, this Imperial State cannot afford to reverse, and therefore will not reverse, those great policies upon which it has grown and advanced from glory to glory. (Enthusiastic cheering.)

I thank you, gentlemen ; I thank that larger number with whom I have already had the pleasure of exchanging greetings to-day, I thank the ministers, the merchants, the lawyers, the professional men, the mechanics, the laboring men of New York (applause), for a cordial reception, an over-generous welcome, which in all the mutations of my future life will be to me among the proudest and most precious of my memories.

THE FAMOUS BURCHARD INCIDENT.

The foregoing remarkable speech was made at the banquet in the evening. At ten o'clock in the morning of that day a large number of clergymen of all denominations called on Mr. Blaine at the Fifth Avenue

Hotel to present a series of resolutions and assure him of their respect and loyalty. The clergymen went into the main corridor of the hotel, and soon Mr. Blaine appeared, accompanied by the committee of clergymen who had been appointed to receive him, several members of his family, and Hon. Levi. P. Morton.

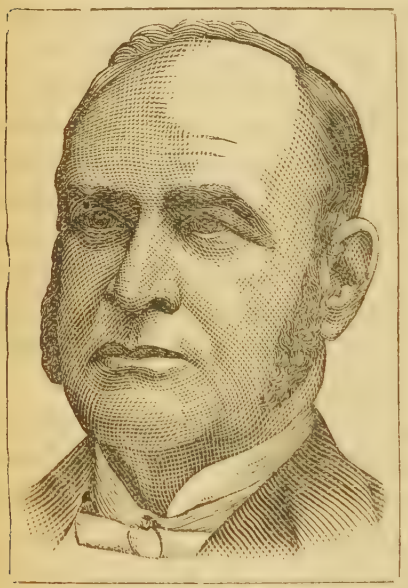
Rev. S. D. Burchard, D. D., a well-known and honored minister of the Presbyterian Church, was called upon a few minutes before the appearance of Mr. Blaine to deliver the address, the one who had been chosen for this purpose being unexpectedly absent. Dr. Burchard was a warm admirer of Mr. Blaine, and those who knew him will acquit him of any but the best of intentions in the part he acted on this now celebrated occasion. His error was one of judgment, and doubtless due to the fact that he was suddenly called upon to deliver the address. He stepped to the side of Mr. Blaine, and spoke as follows:

DR. BURCHARD'S SPEECH.

"We are very happy to welcome you to this city. You see here a representation of all denominations of this city. You see the large number that are represented. We are your friends, Mr. Blaine, and, notwithstanding all the calumnies that have been urged in the papers against you, we stand by your side. (Shouts of "Amen.") We expect to vote for you next Tuesday. We have higher expectations, which are that you will be the President of the United States, and that you will do honor to your name, to the

United States, and to the high office you will occupy. We are Republicans, and don't propose to leave our party and identify ourselves with the party whose antecedents have been Rum, Romanism and Rebellion. We are loyal to our flag. We are loyal to you."

The unfortunate expression, "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion," produced instantly a perceptible impression on Mr. Blaine. His expression was one of surprise and painful anxiety. His quick perception saw at once that these words, applied to his political opponents, would be resented by them, and might alienate from him many who had intended to break from party lines, and give him their support at the polls. He made no reference to them at the time, however, and his reply to the cordial welcome of the clergymen was one of his happiest efforts.



REV. S. D. BURCHARD

HE REFERS TO THE BURCHARD SPEECH.

On reaching New Haven, on November 1st, Mr. Blaine made the following address referring to Dr. Burchard's expression:

There has been placed in my hands since my arrival in New Haven an address from the clergymen of this city expressing their respect and confidence, and, through the person who delivered it, the assurance that in matters of public right and in matters of public participation under the laws and Constitution of the United States they know no sect; they know no Protestant, no Catholic, no Hebrew, but the equality of all. ("Good!" and cheers.) In the city of Hartford I had a letter put into my hands asking me why I charged the Democratic party with being inspired by rum, Romanism and rebellion. (A voice, "You never said that.") My answer, in the first place, is that they put in my mouth an unfortunate expression of another man; and, in the next place, it gives me an opportunity to say, at the close of the campaign, that in public speeches which I have made I have refrained carefully and instinctively from making any disrespectful allusion to the Democratic party.

I differ from that party profoundly on matters of principle, but I have too much respect for the millions of my countrymen whom it embraces to assail it with epithets or abuse. ("Good! Good!" and cheers.) In the next place, I am sure that I am the last man in the United States who would make a disrespectful allusion to another man's religion. The United States guarantees freedom of religious opinion, and before the law and under the Constitution the Protestant and the Catholic and the Hebrew stand entitled to absolutely the same recognition and the same protection

(loud cheering); and if disrespectful allusion is here to be made against the religion of any man, as I have said, I am the last man to make it; though Protestant by conviction and connected with a Protestant church, I should esteem myself of all men the most degraded if, under any pressure or under any temptation, I could in any presence make a disrespectful allusion to that ancient faith in which my mother lived and died. (Enthusiastic and long-continued cheering.)

THE RESULT OF THE ELECTION.

Mr. Blaine returned to his home at Augusta, receiving an imposing reception at Boston on the way. The election occurred on November 4th. The result turned upon the vote of New York State, and for some days that was in doubt. After an inexplicable delay on the part of the Democratic officers of election, a delay during which grave suspicions arose that the returns were being tampered with and falsified, it was announced that Mr. Cleveland had carried the State by a narrow margin of 1,047 votes.

In the electoral college Mr. Blaine received 182 votes and Mr. Cleveland 219. Not only was Mr. Blaine sorely disappointed at the result of the election, but his party yielded to defeat with a sorrow that was painfully evident. Millions of his countrymen had hoped to see him elevated to the highest position in the gift of the people. After the first shock of disappointment he returned to his literary pursuits, and continued his work on his "Twenty Years of Congress," a masterpiece of political history which exhibits

the fruits of his long experience in our national affairs, his consummate analytical power, and his marvellous intellectual ability. This work will stand as one of his proudest monuments, and will be immortal in the annals of the Republic.

CHAPTER XIX.

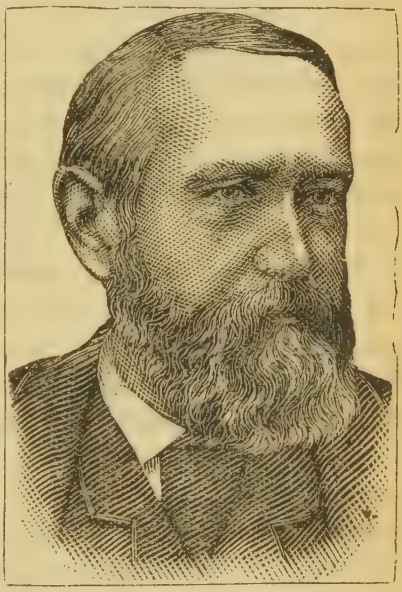
Again Secretary of State.

THE events in Mr. Blaine's later career, extending through the closing years of his life, are prominent and well marked. He lived in the eye of the public. No other man in the nation was accorded so much attention and comment in the public journals which make it their business to record transactions of universal interest.

The Washington correspondent of one of our leading journals published the following reminiscences, which properly form a part of the history of Mr. Blaine in connection with the presidency and his second appointment as Secretary of State:

In the spring of 1884, long before the two conventions had met, I called at Mr. Blaine's house for the purpose of talking to him about the possible outcome of the Republican Convention to be held at Chicago. Mr. Blaine was then the leading candidate. General Grant was in Washington. It was just before the Grant-Ward failure, and a number of enthusiastic friends of General Grant thought that he might receive the nomination. Mr. Blaine at that time showed singular indifference. Delegation after delegation

came to see him at his house, but without eliciting any response. No one who went to see him at that time received the impression that he desired the nomination. During the special call which I made for the purpose of finding out if possible his personal views Mr. Blaine said, "I am afraid I am going to be nominated." This was such a peculiar expression that I asked Mr. Blaine what he meant by it. He replied that the drift was clearly going his way, and that unless he took active steps to counteract it by an absolute refusal to permit his name to be used he would receive the nomination.



BENJAMIN HARRISON.

He foresaw the whole situation with remarkable clearness. He estimated very justly the strength of the other candidates. The reason why he feared the nomination was his profound belief that the Republican party could not win in the coming campaign. His reasons for that were given with great exactness. There was great distress throughout the country. Times were hard and all the dissatisfaction that had been accumulating during years of Republican admin-

istration he believed would culminate in that year. Nearly everything that he predicted at that time, even to the character of the contests in the various States, proved to be true.

WHY HE DECLINED TO RUN AGAIN.

Mr. Blaine's feelings even then made him shrink from the possible dangers of the situation. For many years he had a profound ambition to be the President of the United States. Yet in every contest he had encountered great trials and even dangers. In 1876 the extraordinary attack made upon him in the House of Representatives came near causing his death. The sunstroke during the Cincinnati Convention was indirectly one of the results of the enormous strain he had undergone prior to that time. His enemies then said that the illness was a sham to create sympathy.

LEVI P. MORTON.

Mr. Blaine's personal pride was hurt by the result of the campaign of 1884. He was deeply wounded by the attitude of some of the Republican leaders. He believed that if there had been perfect harmony

in the State of New York he could have been elected. He felt that if the votes had been honestly counted he would have been elected. The result of that election made him resolve that he would never go through another campaign except under conditions, which, from the nature of things, would be impossible.

What he dreaded more than anything else was that he should be regarded as posing before the American public as a perpetual candidate. He knew that if he had remained in this country during the year preceding the campaign of 1888 his position would be misrepresented, and so he went to Europe in the early summer of 1887 for the sole purpose of avoiding every possible political complication.

Only on one condition would Mr. Blaine have consented to again become a candidate. This was divulged in a conversation I had with him in Paris, just after he had written the letter of November, 1887, to Mr. B. F. Jones, announcing that he would not be a candidate under any circumstances. Mr. Blaine said then, in the course of a private conversation, that he had been elected to the proud position as the chief of the Republican party by his nomination at Chicago in 1884. That was a position which, after having led his party to defeat, he could feel justified in retaining only by the unanimous consent of every other possible candidate. He said that he would have consented to run again if no one of prominence in the party had opposed his renomination.

HIS PARIS LETTER.

But when he saw that candidate after candidate was announced for the next Chicago Convention he resolved to write the letter to Mr. Jones. This letter was written without any second thought. It was an irrevocable determination based upon a feeling of intense personal pride. Only those who knew Mr. Blaine well can appreciate how intense was this personal feeling. He felt that he could not be brought to occupy a more undignified position after having been elected leader than to be obliged to appear before the public contesting with others for the right to hold the position of leader.

After writing the Paris letter Mr. Blaine determined to escape from all persecution, and to enjoy, if possible, a visit to some of the more interesting parts of Europe without having his footsteps dogged. He took great care to disclose to no one his intention to leave, and departed for Vienna. He went from Vienna on to Buda-Pesth and remained there for some time, completely eluding his pursuers. No representative of any American newspaper crossed his path for several weeks. Public attention was diverted to other channels in America. The contentions of candidates occupied the public mind. Mr. Blaine's withdrawal was accepted as having been made in good faith.

So great, however, was the disappointment over his withdrawal and so difficult did it become to concentrate partisan enthusiasm upon any one of the numer-

ous Republican candidates that the thoughts of the leaders began to turn again to Mr. Blaine.

The result was that Benjamin Harrison was nominated and subsequently elected President of the United States. To make him President no one helped more than Mr. Blaine. In his old time fashion he stumped the country, delivering most brilliant and telling speeches on the tariff, which was then the one great point at issue.

AGAIN IN THE CABINET.

He was called by President Harrison to the position of Secretary of State, which he filled with ability. His policy was marked by the revival of his old project of a Spanish-American Congress for the furtherance of trade with the South and by the calling of an international marine conference, which met in Washington and formulated important rules for the protection of life and safety of property at sea. Although a protectionist he did not hesitate to denounce some of the provisions of the McKinley Tariff bill.

Mr. Blaine as Secretary of State initiated a spirited foreign policy that was characterized by the vigor and earnestness with which he upheld American interests. What that policy was he described, as we have already seen, in a letter published September 1, 1882, in which he said:

"The foreign policy of President Garfield's administration had two principal objects in view. First, to bring about peace and prevent future wars in North and South America; second, to cultivate such friendly

commercial relations with all American countries as would lead to a large increase in the export trade of the United States by supplying those fabrics in which we are abundantly able to compete with the manufacturing nations of Europe."

Mr. Blaine projected an international peace congress to be held at Washington for the furtherance of these plans, which idea was not carried out owing to the death of President Garfield, but which was revived later on during the administration of President Harrison.

In Mr. Blaine's "Twenty Years of Congress" he further expounds his views upon the relations of foreign countries to the United States in the following paragraph:

OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS.

"This brief history of the spirit rather than the events which characterized the foreign relations of the United States during the Civil War has been undertaken with no desire to revive the feelings of burning indignation which they provoked, or to prolong the discussion of the angry questions to which they gave rise. The relations of nations are not and should not be governed by sentiment. The interest and ambition of States, like those of men, will disturb the moral sense and incline to one side or the other the strict balance of impartial justice. New days bring new issues, and old passions are unsafe counsellors. Twenty years have gone by. England has paid the cost of her mistake. The Republic of Mexico has

seen the fame and the fortunes of the emperors who sought her conquest sink suddenly—as into the pits which they themselves had digged for their victims—and the Republic of the United States has come out of her long and bitter struggle so strong that never again will she afford the temptation of the opportunity for unfriendly governments to strike at her national life. Let the past be the past, but let it be the past with all the instruction and warning of its experience.

"The future safety of these continents rests upon the strength and maintenance of the Union; for, had dissolution been possible, events have shown with what small regard the interests or the honor of either of the belligerents would have been treated. It has been taught to the smaller republics that if this strength be shattered they will be the spoil of foreign arms and the dependent provinces again of foreign monarchs. When this contest was over the day of immaturity had passed and the United States stood before the world a great and permanent Power. That Power can afford to bury all resentments. Tranquil at home, developing its inexhaustible resources with a rapidity and success unknown in history, bound in sincere friendship and beyond the possibility of hostile rivalry with other republics of the continent, standing midway between Asia and Europe, a power on the Pacific as well as on the Atlantic, with no temptations to intermeddle in the questions which disturb the Old World, the Republic of the United States desires to live in amicable relations with all peoples, demanding

only the abstinence of foreign intervention in the development of that policy which her political creed, her territorial extent and the close and cordial neighborhood of kindred governments have made the essential rule of her national life."

A FIRM BUT PACIFIC POLICY.

Mr. Blaine's policy was pacific, and was wholly in accord with the Monroe doctrine and the characteristic traditions of American diplomacy. President Garfield, in his inaugural address, had repeated the declaration of his predecessor that it was "the right and duty of the United States to assert and maintain such supervision and authority over any interoceanic canal across the isthmus that connects North and South America as will protect our national interests." This policy, which had received the direct approval of Congress, was vigorously upheld by Secretary Blaine. The Colombian Republic had proposed to the European Powers to join in a guarantee of the neutrality of the proposed Panama Canal.

JOHN W. FOSTER.

One of President Garfield's first acts, under the advice of Secretary Blaine, was to remind the European governments of the exclusive rights which the United States had secured with the country to be traversed by the interoceanic waterway. These exclusive rights rendered the prior guarantee of the United States government indispensable, and the Powers were informed that any foreign guarantee would be not only an unnecessary but an unfriendly act. As the United States had made in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850 a special agreement with Great Britain on this subject, Secretary Blaine supplemented his memorandum to the Powers by a formal proposal for the abrogation of all provisions of that convention which were not in accord with the guarantees and privileges covenanted for in the compact with the Colombian Republic.

AN IMPORTANT TREATY.

In this State paper, the most elaborate of the series, receiving his signature as Secretary of State, Mr. Blaine contended that the operation of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty practically conceded to Great Britain the control of any canal which might be constructed on the Isthmus, as that Power was required by its insular position and colonial possessions to maintain a naval establishment with which the United States could not compete. As the American government had bound itself by its engagements in the Clayton-Bulwer treaty not to fight in the Isthmus, nor to fortify the mouths of any waterway that might be constructed, Mr. Blaine argued that if any struggle for the control

of the canal were to arise, England would have an advantage at the outset which would prove decisive. "The treaty," he said, "commands this government not to use a single regiment of troops to protect its interests in connection with the interoceanic canal but to surrender the transit to the guardianship and control of the British navy." The logic of the paper was unanswerable from an American point of view.

Mr. Blaine made strenuous exertions to bring about the conclusion of an early peace between Chili and Peru, and the influence of the government was brought to bear upon victorious Chili in the interests of peace and magnanimity. But owing to an unfortunate misapprehension of Mr. Blaine's instructions, the United States Ministers did not promote the ends of peace. Special envoys—William H. Trescot and Walker Blaine—were accordingly sent to South America with general instructions which should enable them to bring the belligerent powers into friendly relations. After they set out on their mission of peace Secretary Blaine resigned and Mr. Frelinghuysen reversed the diplomatic policy with such precipitate haste that the envoys on arriving at their destination were informed by the Chilian Minister of Foreign Affairs that their instructions had been countermanded and that their mission was an idle farce. By this extraordinary reversal of diplomatic methods and purposes the influence of the United States on the South American coast was reduced to so low a point as to become

insignificant. Mr. Blaine's policy had been at once strong and pacific.

ANXIOUS TO COMPLETE HIS WORK.

Mr. Blaine re-entered public life with distinct purposes in view. He wished to complete the work that was interrupted in 1881 by the death of Garfield. More intimate political and economic relations with the nations of Central and South America had been his dream for years, and he devoted the three years of his Secretaryship of State to working for the good of the three Americas and the United States in particular.

So industriously did Mr. Blaine work that not a year of President Harrison's administration had elapsed before the Peace Congress, conceived by Mr. Blaine just before his entrance to Garfield's cabinet, materialized. Representatives gathered in Washington from eighteen different independent nations on this hemisphere. Mr. Blaine was the presiding officer. There were no immediate results. None were expected. But the Congress soon bore fruit in that it opened the way for the reciprocity treaties which were the striking and brilliant creation of the Secretary of State.

HE CREATES RECIPROCITY.

When the McKinley bill was being considered by the Ways and Means Committee, Mr. Blaine urged the incorporation of reciprocity clauses. He proposed that the President should have power to open the ports of the United States to any or all of the products of the other American nations and colonies, whenever

and for as long as they should admit to their ports, duty free or at reduced rates, an equivalent amount of the natural and manufactured products of the United States. The suggestion was renewed in the Senate, and it found more favor than it did before the Ways and Means Committee It was the most daring proposition of recent years.

WILLIAM McKINLEY.

An amendment to the bill was finally adopted. It was not Mr. Blaine's suggestion, but it was directly due to it. It provides that certain articles shall be placed upon the free list, but that after a given time duty should be reduced upon goods imported from countries that decided to make equivalent concessions. Under the new law, reciprocity treaties were made with Brazil and several other South American countries, beside Spain and other European nations. The wisdom of Mr. Blaine's proposition is shown by the fact that since the execution of the first of these treaties of trade there has been an extension of the foreign trade of the United

States amounting to $75,000,000, while taxation has been reduced to the extent of $80,000,000.

MUCH SKILLFUL DIPLOMACY.

To accomplish this great commercial coup was Mr. Blaine's chief motive for entering the Cabinet, but his administration of the other affairs of State have been marked with singular success. There have been few administrations in the country's history which have had to face so many subtle international questions, but the results reached were invariably to the credit of the United States.

As Secretary of State in President Harrison's Cabinet Mr. Blaine was able to take up again some of the great policies which the assassination of President Garfield and the political consequences of his death had interrupted. Legislation having prepared the way for a meeting of a Pan-American Congress in October, 1889, Secretary Blaine made the opening address of welcome and presided over the sessions, which were prolonged for nearly five months. It was he who had devised this project four years before, and his was the master mind that directed the deliberations of this impressive assembly, which brought about a frank exchange of views on all questions relating to the welfare of the American continent.

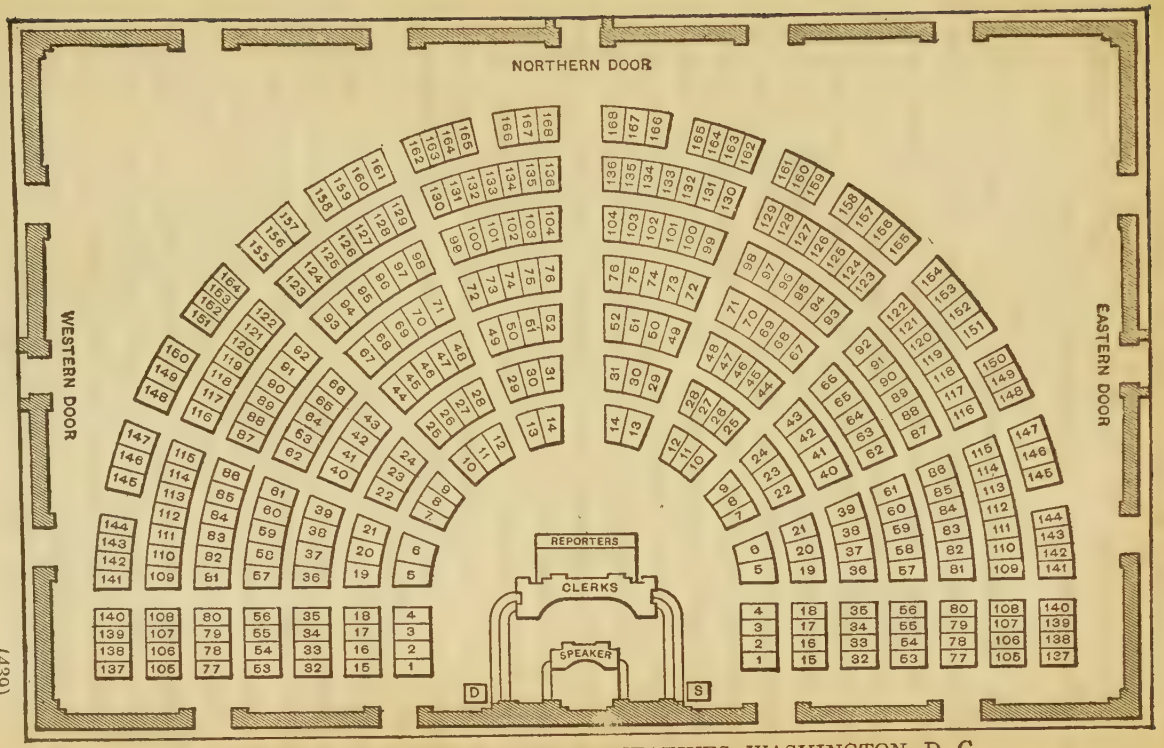
The most important results of this Congress were the adoption of a report favoring the negotiation of partial treaties of reciprocity, the authorization of surveys for a railroad system on north and south lines,

and the passage of a resolution in favor of compulsory arbitration as an expedient for averting war.

BRILLIANT ACHIEVEMENTS.

Mr. Blaine acted promptly upon the advice of the Pan-American Congress. As soon as the Tariff act had been enacted with its reciprocity provisions inserted at his suggestion, he negotiated a treaty with Brazil highly favorable to the American export trade. This was followed by the treaty with Spain in relation to Cuba, by which nearly one-half the imported sugar supply was regulated to mutual advantage. Subsequently treaties were made with Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, San Domingo, the five coffee Republics of Central America, British Guiana and all the British West Indies except the Bahamas. Experience has fully vindicated Mr. Blaine's judgment of Reciprocity as a great business policy for the United States, and a British Prime Minister's direct tribute to its success leaves nothing wanting to complete Mr. Blaine's diplomatic reputation.

Mr. Blaine was called upon to deal with a large number of complex questions during his second term in the State Department. He upheld with inflexible firmness American rights and the course of home rule in Samoa, until a treaty of peace excluding the supremacy of any foreign Government was negotiated. With equal courage and splendid argumentative force he resented the menaces of Italy after the lynchings in New Orleans; but as soon as this attitude of hostility was disclaimed the State Department, acting upon



PLAN OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, D. C.

a sense of justice which had received instant expression after the bloody work of the mob had been accomplished, made reparation in the form of an indemnity.

EXTRADITION TREATY WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

With Great Britain a much-needed extradition treaty was negotiated, by which Canada was closed as a retreat for American embezzlers. At the same time a resolute but not unconciliatory stand was taken with reference to American rights in Behring Sea, which showed the way to an adjustment of this controversy by a tribunal which is about to assemble.

In the Chilian complications Mr. Blaine co-operated with the President in upholding the dignity and honor of the country under conditions of exceptional difficulty. An attitude of strict neutrality was maintained during the civil war in that country. Political refugees under the American flag were not abandoned in their extremity; the Itata was pursued for violation of port and neutrality laws, and the wanton conduct of the police and public authorities of Valparaiso in the assault upon the Baltimore's men was so resented as to command universal respect and to procure from Chili a reparation adequate to the offence.

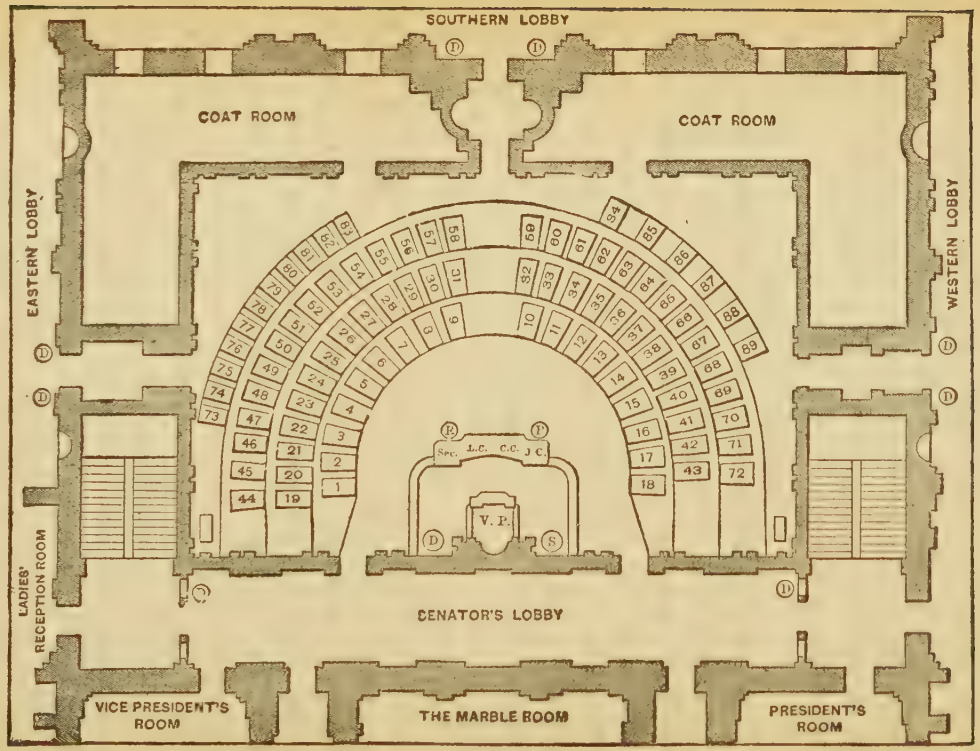
During this brilliant administration of foreign affairs, also, the unjust and grievous restrictions against the importation of American pork into European countries have been removed, to the great and doubtless permanent advantage of American producers. Vigorous as Mr. Blaine's controversial work was with Germany, Italy, Great Britain and Chili, and determined as was

his defence of American rights in the Barrundia affair and on all occasions, his chief glory is that of conducting the most successful business administration of the State Department ever known, and of promoting the ends of peace by putting in operation as far as possible the policy of arbitration.

LAST APPEARANCE IN THE SENATE.

Mr. Blaine's last appearance in a public capacity at the Capitol was made before the Commerce Committee of the Senate. His powers of mind and body had been failing then, and the fact had been remarked by some of his friends, but on this occasion he seemed to feel the life and fire of youth, and his address to the committee was characterized by the clearness of thought, penetration, energy, and vigor of the Blaine of old.

The subject before the committee was a bill to grant a French company authority to lay a cable from the United States to San Domingo. The Government of Brazil had given to this company the monopoly of the right to lay a cable through Brazilian territory to the West Indies, where it was to connect with a cable from France. Attached to the Brazilian grant was a condition that the cable company should secure cable connection with the United States, Brazil being anxious to have direct communication with this country. In order to comply with this condition a new and auxiliary corporation to the original French company was organized. It came to the Government of the United States for permission to lay a cable from



PLAN OF THE SENATE CHAMBER, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Charleston or Port Royal to San Domingo, where it was to connect with the cable from Brazil. Mr. Blaine, as Secretary of State, declined, in the name of the President, to grant the privilege requested unless the company would agree to waive its monopoly rights in Brazil in favor of any American company which might wish to lay a cable.

HE CARRIES HIS POINT.

The company claimed that it was impossible to agree to such a thing; that it only wanted to lay a cable to San Domingo and had no control over the other company, whose line ran to Brazil. Mr. Blaine considered this to be a subterfuge, and insisted that no cable should be laid until the Brazilian Government should grant permission to any cable company the same rights as were accorded the French company.

An attempt was then made to get from Congress what Mr. Blaine had denied, and a bill granting the necessary permission to lay a cable in territory of the United States was introduced. When the bill came up for a hearing before the Committee on Commerce, of which Senator Frye was chairman, Mr. Jeff Chandler appeared in behalf of the company. Mr. Blaine replied and astonished the committee by the animation he displayed. He carried his point, and by a unanimous vote the committee coincided with the position taken by Mr. Blaine.

HE LEAVES THE CABINET.

The term of President Harrison wore on, and again a Republican National Convention approached. The

name of Blaine was still one with which to conjure, and the Secretary, though indifferent personally, was put forward by several leaders of the party for the nomination.

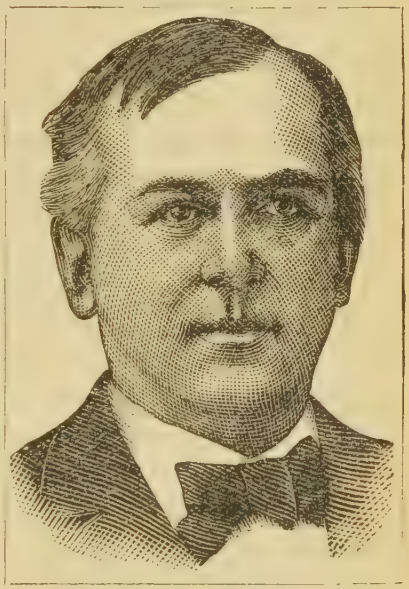
Led by advisers he resigned the Secretaryship of State on Saturday, June 4, 1892. This action created great excitement, for it put Mr. Blaine once more in the lists. Despite his resignation from Harrison's Cabinet he declared repeatedly that his name would not go before the convention. But the presentation of Mr. Blaine's name and the nomination of Harrison on the first ballot by a very decided majority are easily recalled by all. Mr. Blaine's health would not permit of his entering actively into the campaign, but he identified himself with the work in various ways, and was always in sympathy with the younger and more active of the party leaders. Mr. Blaine passed the summer months at Bar Harbor, and after a few weeks in his Augusta home in the fall he returned with his family to Washington for the winter, entering the residence in which he died.

DEFEATED IN THE CONVENTION OF 1892.

Chauncey M. Depew gave a detailed account of the circumstances under which he took the leadership of the Harrison forces and the opposition to James G. Blaine's supporters at the Minneapolis convention of June, 1892. At that time Mr. Depew only stated that he was not in favor of Mr. Blaine's nomination because Mr. Blaine "was not a candidate." He held that the Blaine boomers had no right to use Mr. Blaine's name,

since he had so distinctly stated in his letter to General Clarkson that he must be considered out of the race.

But in spite of this many people have not been able to understand how Mr. Depew could assume a position seemingly of aggressive hostility to his old time-friend. A reporter therefore called on Mr. Depew and asked if he would not now give an explanation. Mr. Depew thought for a moment, then leaned back in his big office chair, and said:

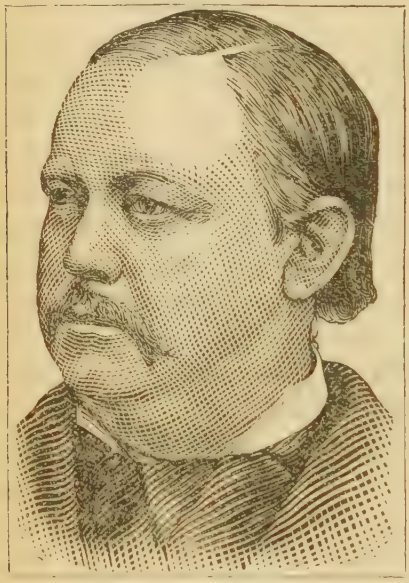


JOHN WANAMAKER.

You ask me a question which has often been put to me: How could you as a Blaine man of twenty-five years, have so cordially and strenuously supported the nomination of General Harrison at Minneapolis? I presume I have received a bushel of letters on that subject, most of them very abusive. They charge ingratitude, unfaithfulness and similar crimes. I have been on terms of the closest friendship with Mr. Blaine for a quarter of a century. I had supported him without regard to personal consequence whenever he was a candidate, and had never

asked or expected any return from him. I believed in the man, in his unequalled capacity for public affairs, in his leadership, in his genius for things American, and felt that his administration, if he should become President, would be phenomenally beneficial to the country, and brilliant.

During the dominance of Mr. Conkling in this State, this persistent and consistent support of Mr. Blaine led to very unpleasant consequences for me. Mr. Conkling broke relations which had been very cordial and intimate, and whenever I appeared at State or national conventions, it was in the minority and opposition.



THOMAS REED.

BLAINE'S POSITIVE DECLINATION.

This enthusiasm and support of Mr. Blaine for the Chief Magistracy had in it no element of opposition or enmity to anybody else or to anybody else's ambitions. It was simply a desire to have James G. Blaine President of the United States. When Mr. Blaine wrote his letter to General Clarkson I determined to ascertain if that meant that he would not take the

nomination if tendered him. I sent the late General Husted down to Washington on this mission. Mr. Blaine said to the General: "Say to Chauncey Depew for me that he is entitled, if any man is, to know exactly what my intentions are. I am not a candidate and will not accept the nomination and he must, therefore, act as he thinks best, without regard to me, in selecting the candidate whom he will support."

I saw Mr. Blaine a few days before I went to the convention, Mr. Depew continued, and I had a conference with him of an hour and a half. It was the most delightful of all the many charming interviews I have had with him. Our discussion was mainly of the convention and the party. The talk about candidates was particularly free, and Mr. Blaine was especially clear in his discussion of the probabilities of success.

HE PREDICTED DEFEAT.

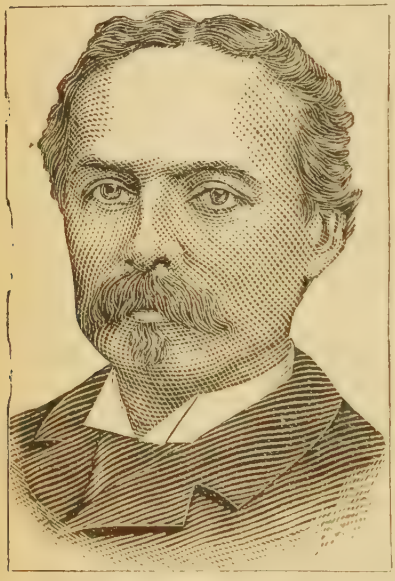
He said that no Republican who could be nominated —not even himself—would be successful in the coming canvass. He indicated the forces which had been accumulating ever since the war for a change of the policy of the government, and he believed the time had come when they would be too strong for the Republican party. He said several times, "I see no prospect of success in this canvass. The people are determined to try another policy."

He was fully alive to and very emphatic on the merits of the Republican policy and its benefits to the country. But he was equally clear that all kinds of elements antagonistic to each other were in unison

for a trial of their theories of government, hoping that in the common success to which they were pledged each one would have an opportunity of having its views tried in practical legislation.

HARRISON DESERVED WELL.

During the conversation he asked me whom I was for and I told him I was for General Harrison. He said that General Harrison's administration had deserved the support of the country, but that no President would ever again be re-elected to succeed himself. He might after an interval be re-elected. The chief reason Mr. Blaine gave was that the patronage was so large that there would be enough disappointed office-seekers to defeat the re-election of any President who might be renominated.



WHITELAW REID.

As I was leaving I asked Mr. Blaine if in the contingencies which always happen in a convention his nomination seemed the only way out, would he accept if nominated. He laughingly said, "I can't be elected," but gave no other reason. I then said to him, "If you have any other answer to give my address is the West

Hotel, Minneapolis," but at Minneapolis I heard nothing from him, directly or indirectly.

A member of the present House of Representatives, one of the most intimate friends of Mr. Blaine, told me recently that he had in his pocket a letter from Mr. Blaine to be read in case he was nominated, positively declining the nomination. The friends of Mr. Blaine who saw most of him and were nearest to him and understood best his physical condition felt what I am certain he believed, that the cares and anxieties of the canvass would have killed him before it was half over.

AT OPHIR FARM.

When he was at Mr. Whitelaw Reid's house, at Ophir Farm, a few months ago, he requested me to come up there because he said that he did not want to speak unless I would speak also. There were surrounding him there a company of men who had been his devoted admirers and steadfast friends always. His mind was as clear as ever, but the fatal weakness which has just ended in his death was so apparent that the meeting was a very sad one. Mr. Blaine would not trust himself—as in the old days he always did—to extemporaneous talk, but he read his speech from type-written slips.

He bade us all individually an affectionate, rather more than usually tender good-night, and went to bed early. He was not up when we left in the morning and none of us have ever seen him since.

There are no mourners for his death more sincere

and no men who will cherish his memory more generously and lovingly than his old-time friends who, at Minneapolis, believed that he was not a candidate, that he would not take the nomination if nominated, and that it would kill him if he entered the canvass.

CHAPTER XX.

Striking Characteristics of the Man.

Mr. Blaine's most marked characteristic was his manliness. He was a noble specimen of American independence, energy and virility. He was an unduly grown man. He was constantly reproducing himself. Mentally and physically he was a forced man, and his years should have been eighty instead of but sixty-two. His head was extremely narrow over the eyes, and his brain seemed to be hung back of his ears. This gave him a curious power for quick judgment from facts real, or apparent, and forced him to quick conclusions on every question.

The ease with which he met questions is due to this fact. Persons not well acquainted with him looked upon his quick judgment as surface capacity. He was born with a woman's power of quick judgment, which his experience increased and made almost infallible. In the last twenty years of his life he probably did not read one book entirely through. He had a habit of securing the meat of a book with what seemed hurried glances, but he was so familiar with all topics that he could quickly pick the new from the old, which made study easy to him. He was born a

business man, but his virility and vigor, coupled with the faculty of speech, made the excitement and flavor of politics more acceptable than slow, plodding business.

He was a newsgatherer, a keen observer, and something of a gossip. These combined to make him the rarest of companions. His stock of anecdotes and experiences illustrated his conversation, of which his listeners never tired.

PEERLESS POLITICAL ORATOR.

On the stump he was unequalled. His ideas were arrayed in picturesque language, which, coupled with his logic and force of statement, carried conviction. On the stump Mr. Blaine made votes, a thing few orators do, and votes from the other side. As a writer he has stood the test both in a literary and historic sense. In literary work he never used a stenographer, but sat bolt upright in a straight-backed chair at a small table, writing rapidly, in one of the best hands ever written by a public man. He was untiring, and all his work showed thought.

While Mr. Blaine was thought by some to be spectacular and was accused of posing, the reverse is true. He never tried for effects, and was impervious to public opinion when he knew that public opinion was partisan or biased. His aim in life was to know the American government, and in this he succeeded better, with, perhaps, the exception of General Butler, than any man of his time. There was nothing dramatic in Mr. Blaine's nature; there was in the effect

of his public acts at times, but never in his nature. Had he been elevated to the Presidency in 1884 he would have seriously disappointed the calamity shriekers who poisoned the air with their howls against him. His pride would have given him the best Cabinet possible, and he would have said: "I think you are best fitted for this position, and you for that;" and from the moment of his inauguration his administration would have been conducted with vigor, firmness and progress, and an eye to the good of the whole people

INTENSELY AMERICAN.

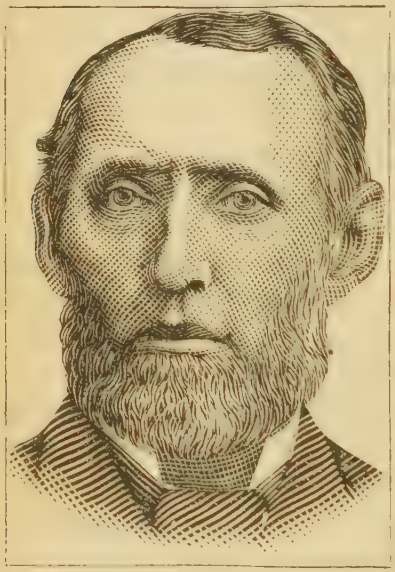
Mr. Blaine's life, character, surroundings and habits were intensely American. He considered the United States a government the result of all the ages preceding, and his hope was to see the whole Continent governed under the same principles as the United States. There was no evidence of smallness or meanness in his character. His political opponents—and he always preferred a Democrat to an independent—were his friends. He believed there was room in this country for two parties, and they, being based on ideas of perpetual liberty, it was immaterial, in the sense of the country's security, which party prevailed. He was a Whig and a Republican by choice.

His religion was as broad as his political principles. He was almost puritanical in his faith, and walked each day with the belief of certain reward or punishment after death. He was affectionate to all, and was an especial favorite with children. When he rode

through the streets of Augusta the little children came running to the fences and gates with "Hello, Mr. Blaine," and even the dogs of the little city all seemed to know him, and would come out and wag their tails.

HIS DOMESTIC LIFE.

As to his domestic life, while there has been a mass of false information and common assertion made, no man ever walked out of life purer in person or with more love for his family. All of his political reverses seemed to soften him toward men, and the excessive amiability of his character prevented him from meting out the punishment that the cut-throats that dogged his steps deserved. He never used profanity, he never drank whisky, wine and very seldom used tobacco, and while never asserting it, he was a strict moralist. He knew every public man's history, and, as for that, many private ones, and he was a walking encyclopædia of family history. He was a little too fond of wealthy men, but caring little for money himself, his business invest-



SHELBY M. CULLOM.

ments were for the benefit of his family or friends, with many aids to charity.

While Speaker of the House he was phenomenal in the dispatch of business and his faculty of control. This arose from his business qualifications. With all his political activity and public usefulness he found time to improve himself, and to look out for and care for his friends, and to discharge the duties of an American citizen. He was the most commanding figure on the civil side of the events following the war after Thaddeus Stevens, and he loses nothing by comparison with any of the great civic characters of America.

NOT TO BE JUDGED NOW.

No adequate judgment of this man can be formed in the present century. His personal character, as shown by the knowledge of his friends, his public record, and the experience of his daily life will all enter into a fair judgment as to his position as one of America's leading men. The victim of heated partisan onslaught, now is not the time—nor in this century—to do justice to the most striking figure in the past twenty-five years of the nation's history.

If any one wants proof of Mr. Blaine's greatness as a leader, let him observe his course in Maine since 1863. Look at his position for all this time, as a leader of his party in Maine, a State second to none in culture and men of capacity and brains. His retention of the leadership is pretty good evidence of his capacity and ability. His following in American

politics was the most unique in American history. Friends fell out, but the ranks were always filled, and there were never vacancies. He held men with hooks of steel. He was sometimes indifferent—the result of business or political duties—but he never forgot a name or a face. And he never forgot an injury. He was as sensitive as a child at unjust criticism, but he had the curious fault of forgiving his enemies without being asked to.

BLAINE AT HIS BEST.

At the best period of his life, which was about 1876, Mr. Blaine was close to six feet in height and weighed 190 pounds. He had large feet, large hands, brown hair, blue-gray eyes, a very large nose, thick at the end with open nostrils, a not too large mouth, drooping at one corner, a face long but square, a narrow head with what might be called a high dome. He wore a full beard and moustache. He was very quick in talking and in his bodily movements. His manner was quick and sharp and his voice was penetrating, with a very peculiar cadence and easily heard by large audiences. After 1876 his voice became rather thick, but until his last illness it remained as distinct as a bell.

He always dressed in black, wearing a Prince Albert coat, and for many years a high silk hat. He seldom, if ever, wore any jewelry. He may have had a watch, but I never noticed it. His personal expenses were nothing a day. He was very abstemious in drinking, eating, and sleeping. He was a mass of

nervous energy, and politics was but an outlet and served to preserve his health.

The highest earthly honors could not have compensated for the death of his children and friends. Seldom is it that any statesman of any country in the decline of his life has met so hard a fate in the matter of grief as Mr. Blaine met. The sympathy of the whole nation went to him during his afflictions of the last three years, but throughout all he bore it with the patience and dignity of a good citizen and God-fearing man. There is a difference between character and reputation, and to the few who knew Mr. Blaine in truth the estimation made of the man by his political opponents reach the dignity of burlesque, and intensify the love and affections of those who knew him.

HIS PART IN LEGISLATION.

The criticism has been made that Mr. Blaine, in his congressional career, originated no particular laws. This may be true in a measure, but as the leader of his party in Congress no great party politics could have succeeded without his aid or have become laws without his consent. Essentially a man of action, he aided any and every wise measure proposed by members of his party. His plan of reciprocity embodied in the McKinley bill, and after a fierce fight, was essentially a further step growing out of a home policy of protection, and was patent to him and believed by him to be necessary to the future welfare of the Republic. This opinion was the result of his many years of experience in public life, and was another

evidence of his landing on his feet whenever he jumped in a political movement.

He was the best all-around politician in America. He skimmed the newspapers each morning, and watched the changes of public opinion with the eagerness of a practiced editor. He was always abreast of or slightly in advance of the foremost men of this Republic. His motto was undying principle with everlasting energy. Self-made, self-contained, self-reliant, he stands out as the best product of American manhood in the last three decades. In all political moves he kept in close touch with his friends in every part of the Republic. When interested, his influence at once became apparent and felt.

UNDESERVED ABUSE.

In his relations with public men he was often the subject of criticism and personal abuse, which was as undeserved as it was ungenerous. In his long career no individual act of meanness can be charged against him. He was not as unique or as picturesque as Butler, but he was infinitely more useful. He possessed the least vanity of any public man in the United States. Flattery was useless as an approach to his favor, and when in conversation he would pump you dry, getting the information he desired and filtering it away in the storehouses of his brain and keeping it for a wet day for use. His natural ability was developed, educated, and completed by his contact with men. Human life and nature was a book which he easily read. He profited by experiences. He was

the most unsuspecting of men, and while you apparently received his confidence, he never told you half he knew or felt. Reticent when necessary, he was talkative to an extreme when in the society of pleasant companions, and no one else in a company desired anybody to speak except Mr. Blaine; not because it was Blaine, but on account of the manner of the man and the strength of his talk.

Brilliant is a commonplace word when applied to his marvelous faculty of entertaining. He was especially fond of young men, he was courteous to women, he was deferential to old men. He was essentially a kind-hearted and affectionate man. He was a unity in which none of the parts were dwarfed. He was great in all he did, in the manner of it, doing of it, and its results.

HOW NEW ENGLAND VIEWED HIM.

It is a curious feature of politics that with the exception of Maine he was weak politically in New England. This was probably due largely to the fact that New England is tenacious of birthright, and he was an emigrant to New England. And yet, with the exception of Daniel Webster, no man in New England ever equaled him in ability, and in his morals, public and private life, he represented New England's moral sentiment better than any man of his day But he had to battle in his political ambitions with the puritanism of New England, except Maine. The great heart of the loyal American people reached out to and loved and believed in him. Blaine's magnetism was noth-

ing but the realization of manhood. Bismarck in Germany, Gladstone in England, Blaine in America—the world's three greatest civic men of the last quarter century.

HIS FRIENDSHIP FOR RANDALL.

A warm and lasting friendship sprang up between Mr. Blaine and the late Speaker Samuel J. Randall which was never broken. He made the great Pennsylvania Democrat his ally in his uneven fight against the Force bill, and in many other ways demonstrated his confidence in him. In his library, hanging almost directly over the desk upon which he worked in Augusta, was a full bust picture of the late Mr. Randall. He observed a friend looking at it intently and said, pointing to it: "There is one of the truest and most forceful Americans who

JOHN G. CARLISLE.

has ever lived. He is a man to be relied upon in any emergency."

The compact between himself and the man he was eulogizing which defeated the Force bill made Grant's administration Blaine's enemy. From that hour the whole power of the Federal Government was turned against him. To revive the animosities of former years his old combatant, Senator Conkling, was chosen by the Grant forces as its candidate, and thus the bitter fight went on.

His famous tilt with Ben Butler in 1871 is often recalled by old Congressmen. The Massachusetts statesman hit him some pretty hard blows with words while criticising him for being the author of the resolution for investigating the illegal outrages in the South. Blaine left the chair, and in defending himself made it exceedingly interesting for the hero of Fort Fisher.

HIS FAME AS A DEBATER.

It was not until 1874, however, that Mr. Blaine shone at his best as a debater. The Democrats controlled the House, and the Maine statesman was the leader of the minority. It was a stormy session, and Ben Hill, of Georgia; Blackburn, of Kentucky, and other Southern orators took the criticism of Mr. Blaine into their own hands, and some of the most acrimonious and brilliant discussions ever heard in Congress took place between the "Plumed Knight" and the men who were resisting the reconstruction measures of the day. It was during this time that Mr. Blackburn used the famous sentence in bolstering

up Northern Democrats, which has been so often repeated: "He who dallies is a dastard, and he who doubts is damned."

While the discussion on the general amnesty bill was going on to remove the political disabilities of the participants in the rebellion Blaine moved to amend by making an exception of Jefferson Davis. Hill's retort was exceedingly severe, and Mr. Blaine's remarks in reply were equally incisive. He cited a resolution, introduced by Hill in the Confederate Senate, providing that every Union soldier found on Confederate soil should be presumed to come with intent to incite insurrection and should suffer the death penalty.

SOME BITTER DISCUSSION.

This was the firebrand which started a new burning, and the discussion upon the pending legislation was intensely bitter and at times so intense that it seemed as though personal encounters could hardly be averted. They could not have been, had not the afflictions of war softened the angry tempest over sectional questions which was aroused by this debate. A spirit was manifest that could not have been quelled before the sword had done its work and taught its useful lessons. It is a study worthy of the effort of the present generation to go back to the records of that era and read them carefully. They are among the most conspicuous examples of what years may bring to a nation that can be found in the annals of any land. They are doubly interesting now, because on the highest fence

corner of the close of that debate will be found the cross roads where Republican Presidential aspirants parted in a hunt for the White House.

There were plenty of dogs and guns on all sides. Mr. Blaine's signboard was the biggest of them all, and the hand pointing for him in the direction of the Presidency seemed steadier than any of the others. It was the first real opportunity that he had had to assert and announce himself as the Republican Ajax defying the political lightning. The figure was heroic, the attitude good, and the feet well set on the pedestal which this controversy built. All the years behind this hour for him had simply been preparation for the announcement. Here it was, and the uneven fight began.

HAILED AS A CHIEF.

It was less than two years from this leaving behind all the customs and by-play of preparation for the national crown before he was to face all comers on the open field. The months after the notable controversy between Mr. Hill, of Georgia, and Blackburn, of Kentucky, were to Mr. Blaine full of the fervor of adulation by those who hailed him with the same spirit that had greeted "Harry of the West" years before. Then he became the target of ambitious rivals in his own party, but the legitimate prey of the Democracy, who desired a less popular candidate to meet in battle, where all the chances were against them. Games were put up to disconcert him by all the antagonistic elements, and not even Henry Clay faced more for-

midable intrigues and bitter opposition than "Blaine of Maine," as he was now familiarly called. He was constantly in the spur of the onset on the floor of the House and in manœuvres of inside manipulation. In private, surrounded with the comfort and eulogy of a vast majority of his party, he made a picture that can never be forgotten for its finish.

A GREAT LEADER.

Perhaps no man ever so completely dominated the rank and file of a great political organization as did Mr. Blaine during the two years after the finger-board from a political discussion pointed him toward the White House. The shifts and hustles in General Grant's administration during the last two years of its existence were many. The effort to break it down and destroy its influence in pending issues were next to irresistible. The Mugwump tender to the Democracy which made itself felt in the nomination of Horace Greeley gathered rather than lost force by the fact that the Democracy would not tolerate the ambitions of the great editor. This was a subtle rather than a manly force, and in its hummings about lit upon Secretary Bristow as its candidate. This gentleman had been brought from Kentucky by General Grant, from a district attorney's office, and put into the Treasury Department. The whiskey ring trials offered a perch for his Presidential aspirations, and the virtuous element of the Republican party made use of him as a fence against Mr. Blaine.

A STAR OF THE FIRST MAGNITUDE.

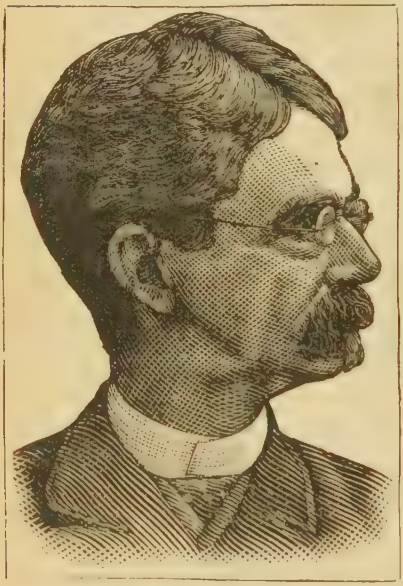
It is said that on November 8, 1572, the astronomer Tycho Brahe saw a star in the constellation of Cassiopeia break into sudden splendor, a splendor so brilliant that it could be seen even at noonday. The observer watched the unusual spectacle night after night, and found to his dismay that its brilliancy was gradually diminishing. For many months this light in the northern sky burned more and more dimly, until at last it went out altogether. A star had become extinct.

James G. Blaine had sturdy friends and unrelenting enemies, but friends and enemies alike agree that he occupied a conspicuous position in the constellation of American statesmen. History will vindicate his right to that most honorable distinction, for it would be impossible to recite the events which threw this nation into chaos in the earlier sixties, or to name the men who moulded public opinion during the five years when the country summoned a super-human courage and rebuilt the Union on the graves of a million heroes, or to review the slow processes which, like a hot fire, have since welded the States into a harmonious whole, without referring to James G. Blaine as one of the foremost in the group of giants whose work is recorded in that strange chapter of our history.

It would be futile to place his character in the even balances, for his life and methods so frequently ran counter to the judgment of many, and he so often interfered with their prejudices, that to be justly criti-

cal or wholly impartial is not possible. That task, which will not prove an ungrateful one, we may safely leave to the new generation. We are all agreed, however, in this—that by Mr. Blaine's death a brilliant star in our political firmament, whose fading flames were watched from every hilltop and valley of the land, became extinct.

A TYPICAL AMERICAN.



J. J. INGALLS.

And this also we may venture upon without being accused of recklessness—that Mr. Blaine was a typical American. With no unusual advantages in his youth, but with that lofty aspiration which our free institutions cherish, he used the opportunities of his day to such good purpose that fame as well as wealth crowned his persistent efforts. He was a close student of human nature, was gifted with intuitions as quick as the lightning's flash, saw an advantage as soon as it rose to the surface, detected the weak point in the attack of an enemy, won in debate by ridicule as well

as logic, was master of himself at all times, and thus generally master of the situation.

The eminence he reached was the reward of continuous toil. His career was made up of shocks, cataclysms, anxieties and ambitions. So freely did he spend himself, however, that he has been a sufferer from physical ailments during his last ten years, and when death besieged him at sixty-three, when he should have been on the hither side of his prime, he surrendered the citadel and fell prisoner to fate. Perhaps no man of our time has done harder work, or done it with more intensity of feeling.

We may furthermore venture upon this—that Mr. Blaine in all the policies of his public life created unbounded enthusiasm. If he was hated by some, even hatred admitted his sovereignty over the multitude. He had a burning eloquence which swayed his audience as the whirlwind the field of grain, and not the common people merely, but his peers in the House of Representatives and the Senate. He has more than once killed a foe with an epigram, and his sarcasm in debate was like a succession of relentless thunderbolts.

HIS MATCHLESS TRIUMPHS.

The golden period of his life was passed in Congress. He was there his best, his largest self. As Speaker of the House he was admirably equipped, and by his tact and diplomacy, as well as by his courage, he earned the laurel. In the old reconstruction days he was not as hot headed as many of his party,

and threw his influence in the direction of a quick reconciliation of our sectional difficulties.

The Presidency was denied him, but he could well afford to forego that triumph in the consciousness of so many others. The leader of his party during the stormiest period of the Republic, he enjoyed honors enough to satisfy all reasonable hopes, and now that he has gone it will not be easy to find another with such versatility of gifts and such widespread influence. He has passed into history; he has begun the journey to that bourne from which no traveller returns. Like the star which Tycho Brahe saw in the heavens, the fires of his great career have gone out.

CHAPTER XXI.

James G. Blaine.

His Place in Modern Politics—His Leadership and Character—An Estimate by John Russell Young.

THE death of Blaine comes as an incident rather than an event. It has been expected for a long time. Hour by hour the flame of life was known to be flickering to the end. Unlike Hayes and Butler, Bishop Brooks and Judge Lamar, who, as it were, bear him company to the eternities, he was denied the grace of a sudden death. For days he had been unconscious, or at least spoke no word. To him long watching hours were appointed, even as to his beloved friend Garfield. He was to die on the theatre of his fame. That was fitting. Around him were the remembrances of great men who had ruled the republic. His deathbed was within the shadow of the White House. Every association recalled ambition, eloquence, statesmanship and endeavor. He was a young man. In the course of nature many years were due him. England is ruled by a statemsan old enough to be his father, and those who loved and followed Blaine had reason to anticipate another generation of his leadership.

Blaine was among the last of that group of bril-

liant young men who, coming at the close of the war, were in their intellectual achievements to be regarded as its fruit and flower. In times of stress, as in secession days, history teaches us that youth finds opportunity. The young men of France governed the Revolution—the young men of the Colonies achieved independence. The statesmen contemporary of Mr. Blaine were a memorable company. Conkling, Morton, Allison, Garfield, Marshall Jewell, Harrison, Arthur, Edmunds, Windom, and Wilson of Iowa, were among the number.

The legislation after the war shows character and power. They had the intrepidity, perhaps the thoughtlessness of youth, or they would never have dared impeachment. With the exception of Garfield, with his old head on young shoulders, they believed in that experiment. Blaine, as I remember, formally expressed in his memoirs a regret for his precipitancy. Impeachment we must regard as a war system—the consequences of war. A party governed by young men was the party to make it come true.

COMES TO THE FRONT.

Blaine soon became the unquestioned leader of the Republican party. His rival for a time was the late Mr. Colfax, who was, however, to go down under distressing circumstances. Since the time of Henry Clay no young men held, at so early an age, a party leadership. By the ordinary progress of events Blaine should have gained the Presidency. But at the outset of his career he came in collision with the military

prestige of Grant. History shows how this antagonism affected his fortunes, but it would be an interesting study to weigh its effects upon the country. If Blaine had been in hearty accord with Grant reconstruction would have assumed a new phase, and we might not now be mourning the ravished electoral votes which established Southern supremacy. Blaine instinctively, as became a man of peace, shrank from the military methods. He probably felt in his heart toward Grant as the English statesmen did to Marlborough and Wellington—a conviction that a military career was incompatible with statesmanship. At all events the silent antagonism between the civilian and the soldier prevented reconstruction and destroyed Blaine's hopes for the Presidency.

The strength of Blaine's leadership lay in his common sense. He was learned in the occult, capricious laws of human nature. He knew that two and two make four, and that even the strongest minds will have a craving for cakes and ale. He believed in the nation's growth. Independent and at times lawless in his convictions in his political methods, without fear or regrets, his heart went out to the newer States. The loyal support ever given to Blaine by the great Western Commonwealths was because he was in sympathy with the builders of empires. His own modest life of adventure, the floating as a schoolmaster between the States of Kentucky, Pennsylvania and Maine, had given him an appreciation of the adventurers who were pressing Republican domination to

the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean. This done, and the chain of States welded together, not alone by the political tie of union, but by rail and steam, and Blaine looked toward what the fancy of Dickens calls "the golden South America."

ENTHUSIASTIC FOR RECIPROCITY.

Blaine had the imperial dream of reciprocity. There were statesmen when Garfield came into power who regretted that our American policy did not embrace the Pacific. This had been the urgent wish of Grant, which, in a measure, he had inherited from Burlingame. During the brief, tragic Garfield episode, and subsequently under Harrison, this Asiatic policy was pressed upon Blaine. It was pointed out that American influence should dominate Asia as far as Singapore, that the great Asiatic nations were craving our commercial alliance, that the growth and endurance of the Pacific commonwealths were involved in a generous policy toward Asia. Grant, like Burlingame, had formed these conclusions by study of the East.

To Blaine, however, the East was little more than a romance or a poem. He had neither seen nor felt it. His conceptions of Chinese civilization were based upon the police reports of San Francisco and the note books of hurried travellers like the late Bayard Taylor. Lord John Russell said it took Parliament seven years to pass a bill. Blaine believed that an administration could do but one thing in four years. To attempt two things meant a failure in both. "I mean," he said to the writer two years ago, "to complete the

work of reciprocity, which will be as much as Harrison can do. That done, we can think about Asia."

BROTHERHOOD OF NATIONS.

There were those of us who were impatient with this resolution, but we must needs admire the splendor of the conception of reciprocity. A federation of commonwealths over the whole American continent! What a superb way we opened to the twentieth century! Why waste time picking up coral islands in the Pacific or jabbering with African kings over flannel and beads, when we had the roads to destiny spreading toward Greenland and Patagonia! Seward had made Alaska a pawn in the fascinating game. Grant had tried San Domingo as a second move, to be defeated by purblind jealousy. Blaine would make a royal move and advance the queen beyond the Andes and to the Amazon.

As I have said, it was an imperial dream, recalling what Henry Clay believed possible as an outcome of his Panama Congress. With what success it is too soon to say. It may be the unfinished window in the tower as we read in the "Arabian Nights." Even as these high purposes came within his reach, when at last standing as it were on the steps of the throne he was enabled to mould the throne's decrees, there came upon him, as upon no public man in my time, the inscrutable hand of God. His children were to die. Disease was to strike him even unto death. Every promise, joy and hope was to sink into cloud and night. No sadder mystery in the ways of God as we

see them among man than this of Blaine. And I can well believe that out of it all there came at times the feeling that death was a benediction, and that in the end alone was peace.

A KING AMONG MEN.

It will be difficult to assign Blaine a place in our history. This, however, is the work of another generation. I knew him for many years on terms of intimacy, more especially while he was a member of the House and before political differences brought rifts into the party. I have worked with him for hours in Washington, and had his companionship at my fireside. I found him always an original, sincere, intrepid man, amiable, sympathetic, with a Napoleonic instinct for the kernel of a subject. In a flippant way he has been called "magnetic." This meaningless word seems especially so when applied to Blaine. He had that perfect courtesy which is shown in absolute respect for the feelings of those around him. Sovereign or serf had equal kindness at his hands. He had no fear, no resentments, and friends were often impatient at his forgiveness of enemies.

It is difficult also to estimate his intellectual standard. He was not a supreme orator like Conkling. He wanted Morton's lucidity of expression. He was not learned in the books like Garfield. He had not enjoyed the legal training of Edmunds. He missed the cogent, rifle ball aptness of Harrison as a speaker. But he had a quality in which he surpassed any man of his time. It is hard to describe it, but I presume

it should be called the genius of leadership. He would be a brave man or one with a gnarled, rugged nature, who could come within the gleam of that magnificent eye, or under the spell of that persuasive voice and not be prone to follow. And in this leadership was the arrogance of genius. Blaine, like Grant, never called a council of war to fight his political battles. It was go and he goeth, or come and he cometh, to his followers, as I have heard many an eminent statesman say when speaking of service with the "Plumed Knight" of Maine.

LIKELY TO BE UNDERRATED.

In the way of mere achievements, that is to say, speeches, legislation or the development of high policies, the life of Blaine may be regarded as a disappointment. Critics may ask us to study him as we do some of those stupendous ruins which show what it was in the mind of man to attempt, but not in the heart of man to do. He will be called a Coleridge among statesmen—his life strewn with the wrecks of magnificent opportunities. This, however, would be an unfair criticism. Blaine dies in what would be the youth of a public man. The time to do his work was denied him. He had more sorrows than are common. He had battles to fight such as devolved upon no American statesman. There was the mighty personality of Grant, the haughty personality of Conkling, the majestic personality of Edmunds. There was the uncompromising hostility of the critical conservative Republicanism—theorists and dreamers, especially of

the New England school. There was the South. Alone he fought them, and in every battle he was triumphant. No political antagonist ever beat him down.

My heart was not with him in some of these contests, but I never ceased to admire the fertility of his genius, his courage and his will. He was ever a knight in the terror of his blows, in the swift amplitude of his forgiveness. I think of it all now that he lies in his coffin, and, recalling of Blaine so many years of admiration and friendship, his loyalty to his party, his chivalry to woman, his gentleness to children, his haughty Americanism and supreme power of intellect which made him almost an object of worship to so many millions of his countrymen, give him my sorrowing farewell. A great man has gone and a nation mourns an untimely fate.

CHAPTER XXII.

Blaine as a Man Among Other Men.

The eminent journalist, E. J. Gibson, who was intimately acquainted with Mr. Blaine, furnishes the following interesting sketch:

Although Mr. Blaine was so highly regarded because of his rare ability and brilliant attainments, yet his so-called magnetic manner gave him much of his popularity. He rarely forgot a face or name, and he had the faculty of giving every person with whom he came in contact the impression that he was really glad to see him, something which can be said of very few men in public life. My own experience with Mr. Blaine was probably similar to that of a multitude of others. When a reporter on a New York newspaper, doing some campaign work in Philadelphia, I happened to be in the city on the afternoon that Mr. Blaine was to deliver a campaign address in the Academy of Music in the Fall of 1878. Wishing to meet him personally I sent up my card to him at the Continental Hotel. I was invited up at once, and much to my surprise was taken into his room, where many of the leading Republicans of the city were gathered, and taking me by the arm Mr. Blaine introduced me to every man present. I had never been treated so well by a public

man, and I certainly went away entertaining a feeling of the highest regard personally for Mr. Blaine.

Some years afterward when he was nominated for President, I went to Maine to represent the same newspaper and remained with Mr. Blaine during the entire campaign. I then had an opportunity to become thoroughly well acquainted with him, and this acquaintance was renewed by a similar experience for six weeks during the State campaign in Maine in 1886, and afterward in Washington. During a good deal of the time I was in Maine and in the country in 1884 I traveled with Mr. Blaine alone and we went into every nook and corner of Maine that could be reached by railroad.

HE KNEW ALMOST EVERYBODY.

We never entered a town that Mr. Blaine did not recognize apparently the majority of the inhabitants. He seemed to know everybody in the State, and he never went into a town or city elsewhere in the country, within my knowledge, without meeting some one that he knew, so extensive was his acquaintance.

I never knew but one other man who had a like faculty of remembering persons whom he had met before, and that was Vice-President Hamlin, of the same State. Mr. Hamlin accompanied us on a trip at one time to Presque Isle, a village in the extreme northeastern part of Maine. The Vice-President had not been in the same town for seventeen years, but when he got off from the train he shook hands with three persons whom he had met in the same place on

his visit there seventeen years before and called each one by name, although he had never seen them but once. Mr. Blaine at the same time recognized personally a large number of the citizens whom he had met only once, and that a good many years before.

At a reception given by Governor Smith at his house in New Hampshire, I stood a few feet away from Mr. Blaine and heard him personally greet by name 200 or 300 persons, many of whom he had never met but once. One man, after shaking hands with Mr. Blaine, remarked: "I suppose you do not remember me, Mr. Blaine, as it is twelve years ago since I saw you." Mr. Blaine quickly replied: "Oh, yes, I remember you well. You were at Mr. Blank's house when I was there in 1872." I afterward asked Mr. Blaine in regard to that particular person and he said that he met him at a reception in another city twelve years before, which illustrates his wonderful memory of faces.

QUICK TO SEE A POINT.

One of the most notable things in regard to Mr. Blaine's skill as a party leader was his alertness in seizing upon a position on difficult or exciting public questions that would be likely to receive the support of his party and to be popular in the country. A mistake by an opponent would be seen by Mr. Blaine almost immediately, and he was not slow to take advantage of it. Perhaps this could not be illustrated better than in his celebrated statement on the tariff question sent from Europe in reply to Mr. Cleveland's

message in 1887. Mr. Blaine gave the keynote of the campaign to his party in that message.

In the hundreds of speeches which I have heard him deliver he always made an effort to bring out one central point that would fix the attention of his hearers. He did not like to deliver long speeches. He preferred, as he told me himself, to handle one topic in such a way as to make an impression and leave to others the work of entertaining the audience. For that purpose he generally took with him a speaker who could put an audience in good humor, and Mr. Blaine would confine himself to one or two of the central issues of the campaign. Many of his speeches were delivered with a view of reaching the entire country, rather than the audience to which he was speaking. He had a clear voice and a direct, simple manner of stating questions that always made it easy for the people to understand him.

Mr. Blaine rarely wrote out a speech. I remember only one speech in the campaign of 1884 that he wrote out in advance, and then he had been grossly misrepresented, and he desired to put himself right in such a way that there would be no excuse for continuing the misstatements. The speech I refer to was delivered in the State Fair grounds at Manchester, New Hampshire, and I held the manuscript in my hands while Mr. Blaine spoke, and I found that he did not deviate hardly a word from what he had written, although he did not write the speech more than an hour before it was delivered, and had had no oppor-

tunity to do more than read it after he had completed the manuscripts.

HIS LITERARY STYLE.

Mr. Blaine's literary style has been criticised by some of the men who posed as critics on such matters, but most of the people generally will agree with Senator Hoar in the statement that the dead leader had "a marvelous literary instinct." His style was free from exaggeration and excess, and the little poses of phrase so often affected by writers. Mr. Blaine was a splendid Latin student, and yet none would ever be aware of the fact so far as the use of Latin phrases in his speeches and writings are concerned.

I asked him once if he thought it was worth while for a boy to spend his time learning the dead languages. He replied that he did not think that Greek was of any particular advantage, excepting to men who intended to pursue a literary life or special callings that would make researches into the works of ancient authors necessary. But he said that Latin, in his opinion, was decidedly necessary in the formation of a correct English style, and he added that whatever there was of good in his style he attributed to his study of Latin. As to modern languages, he thought them an advantage in some cases, but to the great majority of men he thought the time might be more advantageously employed than in studying modern languages, outside of the English. In the case of his own sons, however, he said that he had Walker and Emmons both learn French and German, and had given them an opportu-

nity to perfect themselves in the languages by study abroad.

HIS EULOGY ON GARFIELD.

Senator Hoar in speaking of Mr. Blaine's literary works, says that his eulogy on Garfield has always seemed to him (Mr. Hoar) one of the most exquisite productions of the class to which it belonged. This recalls to mind the fact that Mr. Blaine in giving me a bound copy of that eulogy, with an autograph inscription in it, remarked that he took as much pride in that address as in anything he had ever delivered or written.

The death of Garfield was a great blow to Mr. Blaine. He told me that had Garfield lived he had no doubt before the end of his term that the Republican party would be thoroughly united, and the animosity that had grown out of the effort to renominate General Grant for a third term would have died out under the kindly influences of Garfield's administration. Although Mr. Blaine is everywhere known for his aggressiveness in politics, yet he was in no sense a vindictive man, and was personally anxious to live on terms of peace and good-will with everybody. He was anxious to be reconciled to Conkling, and the fact that they never were reconciled was not Mr. Blaine's fault, as I know of my own personal knowledge.

WOULD HAVE SOLIDIFIED THE PARTY.

Although the nomination of Judge Robertson for Collector of New York by Garfield was ascribed to Blaine, there is good reasons for saying that Blaine

did not dictate it. But even had he done so, there was no good reason for Conkling pursuing the course that he did in the matter. Judge Robertson was quoted in a recent interview as saying that General Arthur made a great mistake when he did not keep Mr. Blaine in his Cabinet, as it would have solidified the party and insured President Arthur's renomination.

That recalls a remark that Mr. Blaine made to me in discussing the same subject. He said that he did not care to remain in President Arthur's Cabinet, but that he would have done so if it had been insisted upon, and he thought that President Arthur had an opportunity to unite the party and to bring about an era of good feeling, such as would not be likely to occur again in a long time. President Arthur took the other course and made the great mistake of going to Albany to try and re-elect Mr. Conkling, and as Judge Robertson says, "President Arthur got no thanks for it."

During the campaign of 1884 efforts were made by mutual friends to bring Mr. Conkling and Mr. Blaine together, and also to bring Mr. Arthur to New York to preside at a meeting where Mr. Blaine was presiding. But so far as Mr. Conkling and Mr. Arthur were concerned, the efforts were a failure. Although Mr. Arthur was spending a short vacation at the residence of Mr. Frelinghuysen, in New Jersey, only a short distance from New York, yet he refused to attend the meeting, and I know that Mr. Blaine felt hurt as a result of that failure.

A good deal has been written and said about Mr. Blaine's return to New York after his visit to the West in the campaign of 1884, and in regard to the dinner he attended gotten up by the late Cyrus W. Field, and the consequent Burchard incident which would not have happened if Mr. Blaine had carried out his original intentions of not returning to New York city.

THAT FATAL NEW YORK DINNER.

I discussed that matter at a good deal of length with Mr. Blaine two years afterward, and he told me then, as he told me at the time, that he did not want to return to New York city, and was persuaded against his will to do so. He said that he could not refuse to attend the dinner given by Cyrus W. Field without offending some of the prominent managers in his canvass. Mr. Field had been very active in assisting in the work of the campaign, and, as a result, Mr. Blaine allowed himself to be persuaded by ex-Senator Platt and others to return to New York, which unquestionably caused him the loss of the Presidency.

As to the Burchard incident, I was present in the hotel at the time the speech was delivered. I did not myself notice Mr. Burchard make the remark that was attributed to him. But a few minutes later ex-Collector Murphy, of New York, who is himself a Roman Catholic, came to me in the corridor of the hotel and remarked that if something was not done right away to offset what Burchard had said in his speech that it would do great harm, because the Demo-

cratic newspaper correspondents, who were there within a few feet of us at that moment, were preparing to make the most of it.

MR. BLAINE'S UNCONCERN.

I immediately went up to Mr. Blaine's room to see him about it, and found that he was not aware that anything of the kind had been said. But he remarked that an attempt to correct an alleged statement of that kind might do as much harm as good, as it would offend the Protestants, particularly those of the bigoted kind. He did not seem to think that the matter was of any particular importance.

Two hours later when I had learned that the Democrats were preparing to circulate this "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion" alleged statement of Dr. Burchard, in the form of handbills and in other ways, I again saw Mr. Blaine about the matter, but found that he was not much concerned. It was not until late in the next day that his friends persuaded him to make the statement that he did in regard to the matter. Many persons have blamed Mr. Blaine for not replying to Dr. Burchard at the time the remark was made, but there is no doubt that he never heard the remark if it was ever made, and although I was listening to the speech, though not with much care, I did not hear it. With Mr. Blaine's extraordinary alertness and skill in making use of any incident of that kind if he had heard it, he would undoubtedly have been prompt to reply. A good many persons have undertaken to ridicule statements to the effect that Mr. Blaine was defeated for

the Presidency by the use Democrats made of that alleged remark on the part of Dr. Burchard. I have good reason for saying that it is capable of proof that enough votes were changed in that way to account for his defeat in New York.

MANY VOTES CHANGED.

Handbills were circulated at every Catholic Church in New York on the following Sunday, headed, "See what Blaine says," and then the remark was ascribed to Mr. Blaine himself. A handbill of that kind was delivered at nearly every house in Brooklyn, and, among others, at my own. Some time after the election a considerable number of men were placed at my disposal, and I was charged with the duty of investigating to see if I could ascertain whether or not any votes actually had been changed as a result of the use the Democrats made of that alleged remark of Dr. Burchard. I found a number of men who were willing to acknowledge that they changed their votes on that account. One of these was the president of a large Catholic educational institution in the upper part of New York city. He told me that he intended to vote for Mr. Blaine, but he changed his mind and voted for Mr. Cleveland, because the Catholic Church had been insulted in Mr. Blaine's presence and he had not resented it.

Passing a certain jewelry store the same day I met an ex-State Senator who lived in Flushing who told me of several persons who had similarly been influenced. He went with me into the jewelry store, and

the proprietor told us of a German shoemaker in the basement of the building who had been influenced in the same way. I saw that shoemaker, and he said that he had changed his vote on that account, and gave the names of several of his friends who had done the same thing. I found a Catholic priest in Westchester county who had advised the members of his flock to vote against Mr. Blaine as the only way of repelling the insult that had been offered to the church.

Pursuing the matter further, I gathered a large number of names of persons who were willing to acknowledge that they had been influenced in the same way. Patrick Ford showed me hundreds of letters from different parts of the State telling of votes that had been changed in that way, and he expressed the opinion that thousands of votes had been lost to Blaine on account of the Burchard incident. As Mr. Cleveland only had 1047 plurality in New York a change of 550 votes would have elected Mr. Blaine. I have never had any doubt in my own mind after that investigation that he would have been elected had he not returned to New York, after his trip from the West, contrary to his own judgment.

DID NOT SEEK THE NOMINATION.

Mr. Blaine told me in August of 1884 that he had not sought the nomination for President that year, and he seemed to think that it was not a good year for a Republican to run in. He told me in 1886 that he did not believe that any Republican could be elected in 1888, but after Mr. Cleveland's celebrated tariff mes-

sage Mr. Blaine changed his mind and he did think there was a good opportunity then for the Republicans to elect their candidate. He had said before that he would not be a candidate. But when it became evident that the campaign was to turn on the tariff, and Mr. Blaine had in letters from Europe expressed the opinion that a Republican would be elected, his friends made an effort to get him to consent to accept the nomination. His health was not good, however, and he was depressed in spirits at that time. Still Mr. Boutelle and others who were concerned in that effort believe that he would have accepted had he been nominated.

Mr. Boutelle holds to the opinion that if it had not been for telegrams sent from Chicago to Mr. Blaine by a United States Senator and some others supposed to be close in his confidence that Mr. Blaine would have been nominated and elected. But in view of his health during the past four years, and the organic disease with which he was suffering, everybody must now concede that it would have shortened his life had he been made President.

Mr. Blaine was very tenacious of life, and I never traveled with a man who was more concerned about his safety on railroads. He was extremely nervous, and if anything happened in the way of a slight accident to a train it upset him at once. He was very fond of company, and always liked to have some one to talk to, and when left to himself was very apt to be moody and melancholy. He may have had some premonition

of his organic trouble, but it was very evident to any person brought much in contact with him that good company and cheerful surroundings were necessary to his health.

There was a vein of something approaching superstition in him which has always made me wonder that he consented to move into the old Seward mansion, considering the mishaps that have befallen its former occupants.

When Mr. Blaine went out of the Cabinet at the death of Garfield his physicians told him that it would be necessary for him to take up some work that would keep his mind occupied, and that was how he came to undertake the work of writing a history of his "Twenty Years in Congress." It was a kind of work that was congenial to him, and no man in the country was probably so well fitted to perform it. His acquaintance with the political history of the country and his knowledge of public men and events were second to that of no other man. He devoted a great deal of time to that work, and told me that it gave him more satisfaction than anything that he had ever done. But it is not at all improbable that it did much to shorten his life.

DID NOT CHERISH ENMITY.

Mr. Blaine did not cherish enmity. He was very sensitive to criticism which reflected on his honor as a man. In the campaign of 1884 ex-Secretary Bayard, who was associated with Mr. Blaine in business enterprises, and for whom Mr. Blaine had high regard, delivered a speech in Brooklyn in which he attacked Mr.

Blaine's character personally on account of the Mulligan letters. When I read the speech the next day I spoke to Mr. Blaine about it. He had not seen it and said he could hardly believe that Mr. Bayard would do a thing of that kind, and requested me to point out the part of the speech to which I referred. I got the paper and showed it to him. He read it, dropped the paper on the floor and sat looking out of the window in a most dejected manner for at least fifteen minutes, evidently feeling deeply hurt.

Some years later, when Mr. Blaine was Secretary of State, I chanced to be passing down the corridor of the Department just as Mr. Bayard stepped out of the elevator into which Mr. Blaine was about to enter. "Hello, Tom, how are you?" was Mr. Blaine's hearty greeting, which was met with a similarly friendly response on the part of Mr. Bayard, and the two locked arms and walked off together. Remembering the incident in regard to the speech some years before, I was strikingly impressed with the fact that Mr. Blaine was a very forgiving man. That was evident also in the impartial, not to say charitable manner, in which he spoke of his worst opponents in this "Twenty Years of Congress."

While Mr. Blaine had a good business faculty, he was very careless of details in money matters. I recall a curious incident in that respect. One time while on his way to a town in the extreme northeastern part of Maine to deliver a speech, to reach which it was necessary to make a long detour by rail

through New Brunswick, some ill-informed friends advised him to break the journey by stopping all night at a little village not far from the New Brunswick frontier. My own experience with village inns led me to endeavor to persuade Mr. Blaine against making the stop. But he thought his friends must know the place well, or they would not have advised him; and so we started together from Augusta in the afternoon and reached the place where we were to stop over night about 10 o'clock.

It was very dark, and there was no conveyance at the station; and we had to get a man with a lantern to pilot us to the inn, about a quarter of a mile off. When we got there we found a regular old-fashioned country inn. As there was to be a circus in town next day, all the rooms were engaged, which was a sorry outlook for Mr. Blaine and myself. But the proprietor said that he would have a couple of rooms fixed up, and so we sat down to wait. It seems that he routed out a couple of his guests, and made them get out of the rooms so that we could have them.

When we finally got to our rooms Mr. Blaine came into mine just as I was making a tour of inspection to ascertain the number of bed-fellows I would have. I found the bed was well peopled in its way, and Mr. Blaine was horrified. I then went with him to his room, and while we were not able to discover any like inhabitants, there were suspicious evidences of them about. Mr. Blaine insisted on my remaining

with him in his room, and we did not enjoy what might be called a tranquil night's rest.

When we came to settle up in the morning I found that Mr. Blaine had come away from home, expecting to be gone some days, without having thought to bring with him any money, which illustrates his disregard of details.

But in his larger business transactions he was very successful. His first entry into the newspaper business in Maine brought him a profit, so he told me, of $18,000. He got the money all in cash and took it home and put it out on the table and showed it to his wife, with the proud satisfaction of saying that it all belonged to them. That was the first money that he ever got together as a surplus, and he managed to invest it to good account. He lost money in some of his enterprises, but as a rule they were successful, and it will be no surprise if his estate foots up in the neighborhood of a million.

CHAPTER XXIII.

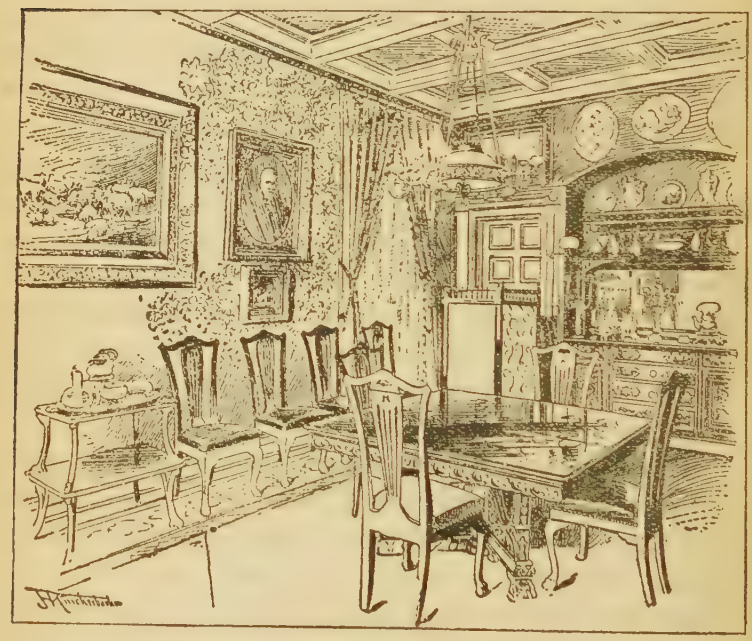
Home Life and Personal Traits.

No more fascinating spot exists in Washington to the average sightseer than the late home of Secretary Blaine. Mr. Blaine had had several homes in Washington—a modest three-story residence on Fifteenth street; the towering mansion on Dupont circle; an elegant house on Lafayette square; and the big, rambling structure which decorative art had transformed into a most luxurious residence.

No. 17 Madison place boasts of a career as diversified as that of a modern politician. It has been in turn dwelling house, boarding house, government office and twice the home of the premier of the administration. The third floor under the slanting roof sheltered a Chief Executive of the nation, President Polk having lived there for the four months of the White House repairs. In Secretary Seward's occupancy it was the social headquarters of the wealth and distinction of the day. On the memorable night of his attempted assassination a scene of horror was enacted under its roof, the memory of which seems as fresh as if it were an incident of yesterday. After years of

service as a government office the house was finally vacated and leased by Secretary Blaine.

He made it one of the cosiest of homes—not spacious enough for large entertainments, but just the thing for the conveniences and smaller hospitalities



SECRETARY BLAINE'S DINING-ROOM.

that Mrs. Blaine had contemplated. It has a cheerful look at night, with the light streaming from every window, and particularly from the kitchen and the servants' quarters, which, after the style of the old days, stretch out in a long L at the back.

INTERIOR ARRANGEMENTS.

On one side of the hall is a small parlor, decorated in white and gold, where Mr. Blaine saw his callers. It is furnished in antique mahogany in a comfortable and pleasing style. The family are welcomed there, and occasionally breakfast is served there, so that the room does not at all take on the look of a regular workshop. The dining-room is on the other side of the hall, facing the street, and is rather small, since the table will only accommodate eighteen persons. It is furnished in antique oak, and is bright and cheerful, in keeping with all the rest of the house. Upstairs the drawing-room occupies the entire width of the house. It is light and delicate in coloring, and pale olive, with a touch of crimson, as the predominating tint. Adjoining on one side was Mr. and Mrs. Blaine's bedroom, and opposite, at the other side of the hall, is the library.

The library is the favorite sitting-room of the household. Their intimate friends join them there, and in the late afternoon the young ladies are sure to be found there with such of their friends who drop in. They keep up the English custom of offering a cup of tea and a sweet bite to those who come in. After dinner Mr. Blaine always joined his family, and the group about that library table was generally one of unusual distinction. The room has a good north light. It is finished in mahogany. The walls are lined with low bookshelves, there are several splendid canvases, in nearly every corner are writing tables

and desks, piles of books are on tables and mantels, and there is always an air lingering of the mental and social relaxation that the room witnesses.

COLONIAL TASTES.

The furniture throughout the house is in harmony with the colonial style predominating in its architecture. Much of it was brought from the Blaines' Augusta home, but most of it was selected by Mrs. Blaine in New York. There are many fine pictures on the walls, a few that they bought during their last trip to Europe, and many old engravings and prints that are familiar to all who remember the look of the Augusta home.

It was considered rather an unusual thing for Secretary Blaine to take up his home in a house tainted by the history of an attempted murder, and people with a superstitious turn of mind indulged in many remarks when, to let more light and sun into the house, Mr. Blaine had four windows cut into the south wall.

The Blaine home in Augusta is not extravagantly furnished. It is simply comfortable and artistic. The house and inclosed grounds are richly shaded with apple trees, and all the surroundings are after the neat but plain New England style. The summer residence at Bar Harbor is quite a pretentious cottage. It is called the "Stanwood," for the family name of Mrs. Blaine. Mr. Blaine never gave up his home nor his home life in Maine, but for nearly thirty years he maintained a home in Washington. A few years after first entering Washington, he purchased the residence

at 821 West Fifteenth Street, where he lived while in Washington for about ten years. Early in the seventies he had built a fine new residence in Dupont Circle. The death of Garfield changing his plans, he leased this house, and returned to Maine.

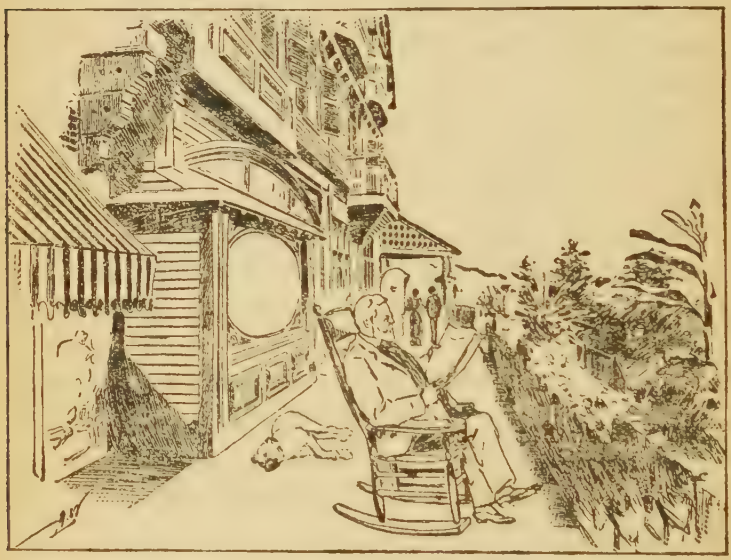
THE SEWARD HOUSE.

About the beginning of President Harrison's Administration, after he had begun his duties as Secretary of State, Mr. Blaine purchased his late home, which has always been known as the Seward House, described above. The old place had been unoccupied for some time, and was in a dilapidated condition. Mr. Blaine gave it a thorough overhauling, and, without destroying the quaint features of the old-fashioned architecture, he changed it into an elegant home, with modern equipments and facilities.

The house has some very gloomy associations. Its first occupant was Secretary Spencer, whose son, a young lieutenant in the navy, was hanged at sea early in the forties for an alleged attempt at mutiny. During Buchanan's Administration the Washington Club occupied it, and it was from it that Philip Barton Key walked out into the sunny street just before he was shot and killed by General Daniel E. Sickles.

Secretary Seward was the next to occupy it. And on April 14, 1865, Louis Payne forced his way into one of its chambers where the Secretary was lying ill and stabbed him nearly to death. For four years after this the War Department kept a patrol there day and night and this did not add to the reputation of the house.

After Secretary Seward, Secretary Belknap was the tenant and he had hardly got his household settled when his wife died very unexpectedly. He soon removed and after this the house remained unoccupied until 1889, when Mr. Blaine established himself and family in it. Within two years and a half Mr. and



BLAINE'S FAVORITE SEAT AT HIS BAR HARBOR VILLA.

Mrs. Blaine lost their three eldest children and the Secretary himself died in the house. Gloomy traditions have hung over the house for a half century, and the latest death within its walls will not tend to dispel them.

LIFE AT BAR HARBOR.

During the summer Mr. Blaine lived on his porch at

Bar Harbor, Maine, a great deal of the time and seemed to enjoy immensely having his grandchildren about him to talk with. This Bar Harbor cottage is a large building and is chiefly remarkable for its great veranda, which completely encircles the house. A beautiful view can be had from its porches, on which the family almost lived in the summer time. It is about twenty feet wide where it overlooks Mount Desert Bay.

Mr. Blaine was very fond of Bar Harbor, and occasionally, when in a reminiscent mood, would tell his visitors of the time when he might have bought the whole island for $500. Mr. Blaine said that when he was in the Maine Legislature he had for a seat mate Old Man Rodick, the original settler and proprietor of the island. This was in 1856. The two men became well acquainted, and one summer Rodick asked Mr. Blaine up to his home. Rodick lived alone on the island. Mr. Blaine went there and admired the place greatly, whereupon Rodick offered to sell it to him for $500.

HIS SOCIAL QUALITIES.

Personally Mr. Blaine was a delightful man; whether at his home or at his position of duty his caller was always received with dignified courtesy and consideration, and it was a charming trait of his that all those with whom he came in contact were made to feel that he always felt in them and their affairs the interest of a friend. Thousands recall brief association with him with delight, and many are the stories that can be told

of Mr. Blaine's remarkable memory of faces and names.

High as his position in Washington became, Mr. Blaine always kept in close touch with all his old friends in Augusta and throughout Maine, and always on his visits to the State upon which he cast so much honor, his hand was ready and willing to grasp the hands of all those whom he met. His home was always open to all the citizens of Augusta. He was idolized by the Republicans of his State and admired and often voted for by the men of other parties. In his life as a citizen there was never the slightest ostentation, no display of money, no assumption of social supremacy.

When Mr. Blaine returned home from a season in Washington with his family to Augusta, he and his entered into the life of the little city as heartily as did any of the inhabitants. Mr. Blaine was often on the street and he seldom rode. Mrs. Blaine was prominent in church work and mingled freely among many friends, while the sons and daughters did not hold themselves off from the other youth of the city, but enjoyed what they enjoyed.

FAVORITE IN SOCIETY.

Mr. Blaine was exceedingly popular in society, and his fame reached across the Atlantic. The London *World* published a sketch of him immediately after his appointment as Secretary of State in the Garfield Cabinet, part of which is worthy of reproduction in this notice. After describing his political career and

paying a just tribute to his statesmanlike attributes, the article thus depicts his daily life at Washington during the session of Congress: "Mr. Secretary Blaine's house is incontestably the most popular in Washington. On Wednesday afternoon, the day in Washington when during the session the wives of Cabinet Ministers and those of foreign ambassadors receive, there is no house in the American capital so crowded. Whatever the weather, however thin the attendance in other drawing rooms, there is always a throng at Mr. Blaine's. Nor is this due to the importance of his present position as Secretary of State. It was the same when he was in Congress, whether as member or Speaker of the House. It was the same when he was in the Senate. It would be the same if Mr. Blaine were not in politics. People go there because they like Mr. Blaine and all his family, which consists of his intellectual and ladylike wife, a kinswoman of brilliant reputation in American letters who uses the *nom de plume* of 'Gail Hamilton,' and six fine and promising children.

"In the examination of the drawing rooms at Mr. Blaine's we find among other valuable possessions one very interesting picture—a large canvas by Sir Peter Lely, representing Charles II. and his Court. It is signed with the date 1658. It was painted by Sir Peter for Lord Baltimore and was bought by Mr. Blaine for a sum of comparative unimportance at the sale of the Calvert estate, Riverdale, Md., some few years ago. There is not an art gallery in Europe,

public or private, which would not be enriched by this large historical picture, full of portraits and executed in Lely's most delicate and yet most animated style.

"Near at hand on a pedestal stands a fine life-size bust of Mr. Blaine, as good a likeness of the statesman as could perhaps be obtained in this form of a man, the charm of whose features lies principally in their mobility and ever changing play. Portraits of men of letters abound here. Thackeray, Dickens, Disraeli, Washington Irving, Hawthorne and many others gaze down from the walls, principally in the last of the suite of drawing rooms—the one in which the Premier sits of a morning before going to the Department of State, examining such letters as imperatively demand his attention at home. Routine correspondence was carried on by secretaries in a vast room at the top of the house, and was an enormous and never ceasing task."

HIS PERSONAL APPEARANCE.

As to personal appearance, there is one adjective which best describes Mr. Blaine. He was commanding, not only in stature, but particularly so in features, up to the close of his life. Mr. Blaine was a splendid type of manhood. Straight as a Maine pine, broad-shouldered and stout, yet as light of step as an athlete, he was a man who would compel attention, even from the few who might not recognize him. He had a full, high forehead, large, keen, observant eyes, of a liquid magnetism, a nose aquiline and slightly prominent, and of the sort to emphasize the strength of character

of its owner. His short, cropped beard, which half concealed the lower portion of his face, gave him a semi-military air.

In speech, Mr. Blaine was rapid, but distinct in utterance and clear cut in expression. It was his masterly arrangement of the facts and his grasp of the logic of the situation, rather than eloquence, that made what he said so effective. He was never superfluous. He seldom sought occasion to speak, and almost always spoke extemporaneously, his wonderful knowledge of the minutest portions of the country's political history and his retentive memory making prepared efforts quite unnecessary, save on most important occasions. The greatest oration of his life was undoubtedly his eulogy of Garfield. There are few more eloquent or beautiful tributes in print in the English language.

SOME OF HIS HABITS.

Mr. Blaine was always a hard personal worker. This may be illustrated by the fact that in the correspondence with the authorities of Italy in reference to the New Orleans affair, he wrote all the letters himself, not even using an amanuensis. The cares of his high position ever rested lightly on him, and it was not until domestic sorrows came crowding in upon him thick and fast that Mr. Blaine began to need the services of physicians, and that the country became fearful for his health.

A gentleman who was intimately acquainted with Mr. Blaine said that, in his opinion, Mr. Blaine broke

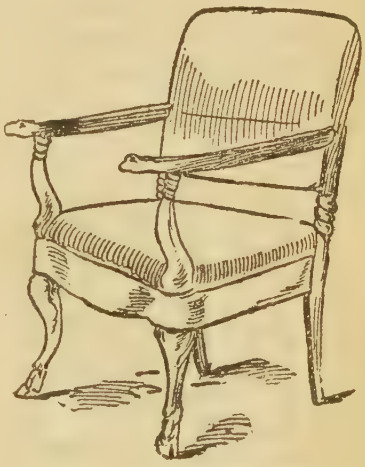
himself down by intemperate work and irregular habits of eating. Mr. Blaine was a high-pressure worker. Whenever he became deeply interested in a subject, Mr. Blaine would shut himself up in his room, would not allow himself to be disturbed, and would not eat, sleep, or rest until he had finished his task. He seemed to have adopted the motto which the great electrician, Edison, who works in much the same way, gave to a youth, "Don't look at the clock."

BLAINE'S CHAIR IN THE BLIND ASYLUM.

An example of Mr. Blaine's habit of continued, uninterrupted labor was furnished in the early part of the Behring Sea correspondence. He became intensely absorbed in carrying on this correspondence with Great Britain, and would retire to his room where he worked with law books, diplomatic corrsepondence, and papers piled high around him. He would start in after breakfast, and sometimes would work on steadily, without rest or food, until nine or ten o'clock

at night. Then he would be too fatigued to eat, and the next morning would make up for it. These fits of labor would use him up for a week.

He was not a large eater, but he was very irregular in his eating. Apparently he had no marked fondness for any kind of food. He did not care for fancy dishes, and when traveling seldom consulted the menu, but told the waiter to bring him a good meal. He liked plain, old-fashioned cooking. Whenever he did taste anything which greatly pleased him it was hard to get him to quit, and he would continue to eat, despite his watchful wife's admonitions. In former years he was fond of horseback riding and took considerable exercise, but afterward he showed much disinclination to bodily exertion.



BLAINE'S FAVORITE READING-CHAIR.

DELIGHTFUL MANNERS.

The personality of James G. Blaine was peculiar to an extent which distinguished him from the vast majority of politicians. He was a man with remarkably charming manners, an easy and agreeable disposition, and a refinement and cultivation far above the average. It is said that no man could meet him

without being fascinated by him, and he had a recollection for names and faces which has become proverbial.

Mr. Blaine was a man with what Chesterfield would have called "a distinguished manner;" not that he was ceremonial or pompous, but he possessed that grace and smoothness which is generally supposed to bespeak a lofty and cultivated mind. No one could meet him without knowing instinctively that he was a man, not only of thought, but of reading. The characteristic of his mind was that he looked at every subject from the very broadest standpoint. On all subjects of a political, economic, or historical nature he was accustomed to generalize about the great results before coming down to the minute details, and it was this which fitted him for leadership.

IDOL OF THE RURAL POPULATION.

Energetic and active, he was possessed of a restless nature which inspired life in every enterprise which he undertook. The enthusiasm and devotion which he inspired among his followers was a phenomenon without a parallel in American politics. It was a singular fact that this feeling of enthusiasm for Mr. Blaine was strongest among that section of the people to which we have been taught to look for the truest exemplars of the homely and uncorrupted virtues of American citizenship.

Mr. Blaine was emphatically the candidate of the rural voters, in contrast to the people of the great cities. The most earnest opponents of machine poli-

tics had been the most zealous in laboring for his advancement. Fifty years ago this rural popularity would have been enough to insure his election by a large majority. But in the last half century the percentage of the civic element in the United States has increased so rapidly that a candidate now has to satisfy another class of voters.

A MAN OF THE PEOPLE.

While thoroughly conversant with the abstract principles of political economy, Mr. Blaine was essentially a man of the people, fond of human society and companionship and wide in his feelings and sympathies. From early childhood he had been accustomed to popularity among his acquaintances. When he entered Congress without much reputation his magnetism at once made itself felt in that political clearing-house, and he easily became the most popular member of that body. Mr. Blaine was always generous in his sympathies, and he overflowed with animal spirits, which made him the life of every assemblage. In the society of the capital he was equally at home and universally run after.

At first it was thought that this ease and grace of mind and body were all that made up his political capital, but that idea was quickly dispelled when he began to display capacities for leadership. The Blaine, however, of 1892 was far different from the Blaine who came to Congress as a simple Maine journalist and ex-State legislator. He was constantly improving through observation, reading, and experience, and

drawing much that was helpful from those with whom he came in contact.

Mr. Blaine's range of knowledge extended far beyond the domain of politics. He was fond of poetry and works of fiction, laid down a novel to pick up a descriptive sketch of a remote period, and was interested in music and painting.

HIS HIGH TEMPER.

It has been said that the principal characteristics of Mr. Blaine's intellectual make-up were those which he derived from his Celtic ancestry. He was highly developed on the side of his imagination and sympathies, and possessed a nimbleness and facility of mind that was rare. These were joined to fascinating personal qualities that would distinguish any man from his fellows.

Mr. Blaine occasionally lost his temper. He would get very angry now and then without warning, but this as quickly subsided and he would resume his cheerful, social manner. He had the quality of humor which is conspicuous by its absence in many another American statesman. Mr. Blaine never was dull. Mere association with him lifted people out of their commonplace lives and excited heroic emotions. He could, it seemed, instill life into the deadest subjects, and even the most stupid men felt the intoxication of his presence.

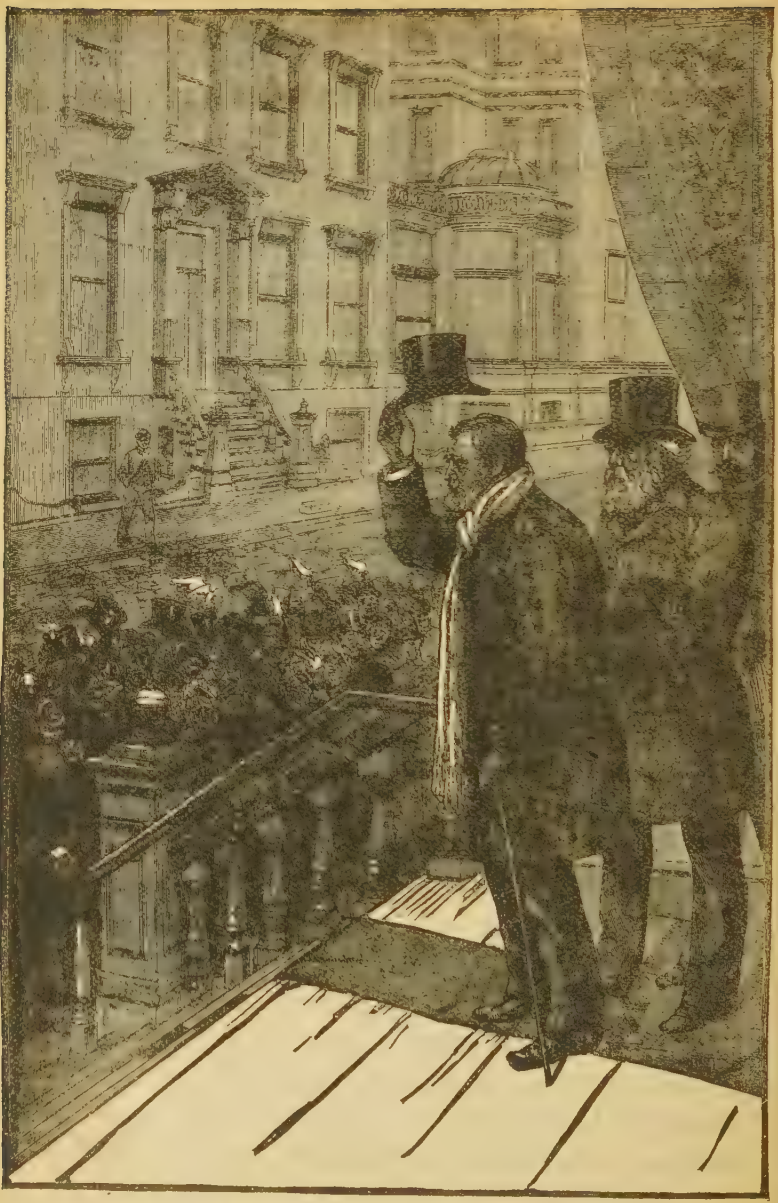
It has been said that Mr. Blaine was so far superior to the general average in this country that he could not logically claim an office like the Presidency, which

is supposed to be representative of the American people. Intellectually he was the superior of most of the Presidents. Mr. Blaine had many of the qualities of Garfield, and the two were in long and intimate association before the latter was nominated. He differed in almost every respect from Roscoe Conkling.

Henry Clay is believed at Washington to have been the only man in American history peculiar for the qualities which distinguished Blaine, but it is likewise believed that Blaine was the greater of the two in the possession and exercise of these qualities. The careers of the two men show many singular parallels.

HIS PERSONAL MAGNETISM.

The great charm of this man lay in what has been so often called his personal magnetism. Great orator, debater, statesman as he was, he would never have numbered his friends by the million had these been his only striking qualities. What made him really great was the strong power which he possessed over men, both as masses and individuals. As an orator he stood in the first rank. In his speeches action played a leading part. He rarely stood in front of his desk, but was wont to move out into the aisle, and often advanced toward his opponent with uplifted menacing finger. Wit and sarcasm were favorite weapons with him, and his sallies were invariably greeted with hearty laughter. There was common sense in all his utterances and snap in his mode of expression. During the winter of 1875–76 he had many bouts with political opponents, and not only did



BLAINE AND GRANT STARTING FOR A WALK.

he hold his own most gallantly, but he also won applause from unprejudiced audiences and adverse majorities. To account for such influence all that can be said is that quickness and personal magnetism constituted the quintessence of the powerful impression produced by his speeches.

Great, too, was his power of ridicule, as the few who ventured to expose themselves to his withering sarcasm learned to their cost. How many apt nicknames he invented for his political opponents! Early in his career, incensed at Conkling's over-bearing manner and excessive pomposity, he applied to him the epithet of "Turkey gobbler." Soon afterward Senator Conkling was asked if he would never forgive Blaine. "Never," he replied, "so long as memory finds a place in this distracted brain of mine!" Cox, of New York, owed to Blaine his sobriquets of "Sunset" and "Dewdrop," and Blaine has also been charged with describing Butler, of Massachusetts, as "a lamentably successful cross between a fox and a hog!"

HE WAS A MILLIONAIRE.

As to Mr. Blaine's wealth, it is not easy to form an approximately exact estimate. He was among the list of millionaires. His holdings of coal lands in Western Pennsylvania, which he inherited from his father, are very large and have been very profitable. He was associated with a number of men of wealth in various enterprises, and his sagacity and business foresight kept him from wasting much money on brilliant but illusory speculative projects. He was

interested with Secretary Elkins years ago in a silver mine, out of which he made considerable money. He owned valuable real estate in Washington.

Mr. Blaine bought his Dupont Circle property, now almost in the heart of the fashionable Northwest, when Stewart Castle, which is across the way, was thought to be out in the suburbs. The grounds and the house cost him approximately $85,000. Two or three years ago he sold a number of the lots in the rear of his house for $75,000. The house and the remaining ground is valued by competent judges at $150,000. Mr. Leiter, Mr. Blaine's tenant, originally paid $12,000 a year rent, which has been reduced to $8,000 in consideration of Mr. Leiter making certain repairs necessary after the fire, which came near consuming it. The house on Lafayette square he at first rented for three years, with an option of purchasing for $65,000. He took advantage of the option and bought the property after six months residence.

OTHER PROPERTIES.

He also owned some valuable ground on P street and a considerable area of ground of a less well-established but increasing value on what is known as Meridian Hill. This property is just beyond the old city limits and overlooks the town. Mr. Blaine bought it very cheap, paying in the neighborhood of ten cents a foot. A boom in it a few years ago makes it salable now at from fifty cents to $1 per square foot, and some of the choicest lots are held at $1.50. Mr. Blaine also owned residence property in Augusta and

Bar Harbor, Me. He was associated with Mr. C. P. Huntington and President Ingalls, of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad Company, in the ownership of lands along the line of that road. He was also one of the directors in the West Virginia Central Railroad Company, in which ex-Senator Davis, Secretary Elkins, ex-Secretary Bayard and others are interested.

Charming as Mr. Blaine was in ordinary social intercourse, it was in the family circle that he was seen at the best. No man in public life was more fortunate in his domestic relations. He was the companion and confidant of his children, and they feared him no more than they feared one of their own number. Mrs. Blaine was a model wife and mother, and more is due to her strong judgment, quick perception and heroic courage than the world will ever know.

MISS HATTIE BLAINE.

HIS VISIT TO HIS OLD HOME.

Many years, nearly two score, after Mr. Blaine's father had removed from West Brownsville to Washington, Mr. Blaine returned to the place of his birth. He had left it when a boy of 12. He returned gray-haired and full of honors, accompanied by his sons

Emmons and James, and Stephen B. Elkins. The party passed the day in going about the little town and made a long stay in the quiet, quaint cemetery in which lie Mr. Blaine's parents.

While Mr. Blaine's visit to his birthplace was the most dramatic event of the day, it was preceded and followed by others of almost equal interest. He and Mr. Elkins took a long walk before breakfast down the eastern river bank, and after breakfast a long line of people filed into the hotel to shake hands. Among them was an old man with tangled white beard reaching nearly to his waist. He grasped Mr. Blaine's hand, saying: "Don't you know me?" Mr. Blaine gazed straight into his eyes for nearly a minute.

"Don't you remember John Harb—" the old man began, when Mr. Blaine exclaimed: "John Harbison —of course I remember you and your partner John Paul. I remember, too, how good the grapes were in your back yard and how I used to climb the fence to get them."

A wrinkled old Irishman with weazened face rushed up exclaiming, "Me God! Misther Blaine, but it's moighty glad I am to see you."

"How are you, Johnny Malone?" was the quick reply. Johnny was a farm hand who worked over the whole region when Blaine was a boy. Then an aged and very black negress pressed up and seized Mr. Blaine's hand in both hers. The tears poured over her cheeks and she sobbed violently.

"Why, Aunt Hetty!" Mr. Blaine exclaimed, and

calmed her agitation. Henrietta Harbison worked in Neil Gillespie's family when a little wench, and she cooked the dinner that President-elect Harrison ate when journeying to take his inauguration. Mr. Blaine slipped a yellow coin into the old woman's hand as she turned to go, exclaiming: "God bless you; may you have health and happiness in this world and a home in Heaven hereafter."

AN INSTANCE OF HIS MEMORY.

Another man, who was a playmate of Mr. Blaine in his early boyhood, now a Western Pennsylvania merchant, speaking of Blaine's remembrance of his early friends, tells this story: "Many years after our early boyhood days I occasionally saw in print some remark of Congressman Blaine, of Maine, that had so much the ring of my old schoolmate that I thought there must be some relationship. I knew Blaine was smart enough to be a Congressman, but you know a boy will never be more than a boy to one who has not seen him in years. One day, however, I read a speech containing some of my old schoolmate's pet expressions. Then I sat down and wrote a letter, telling who I was and asking if he was really my old companion.

"Only a few days afterward I received a long letter from Mr. Blaine, written from the Senate Chamber, expressing the greatest satisfaction at hearing from me and recalling acquaintances and happenings of thirty years ago. A year or two later he came to Ohio to speak and I, being near Massillon, went over

there to hear him. I got there late. Jim was already on the platform, with a crowd of prominent men around him, waiting for the time to begin. The sight of him made me forget my age for a moment and his too. I was a boy again, and stretching my arms over the crowd I tapped him on the head with my cane.

"He looked around and caught my eye. He hadn't seen me in over thirty years, mind you, when we were both beardless boys, but it wasn't half a minute before he had broken loose from the political big bugs who were talking to him, elbowed his way through the crowd and had both my hands in his. His hand had a powerful grip, too. We exchanged notes for a few minutes, when the committee called him to come to the front. 'Confound it!' says he, 'it's always the way; now I must be Mr. Blaine again, I suppose.'"

A STORY BY BOUTELLE.

Mr. Blaine always had the admiration and hearty co-operation of his colleagues. Congressman Boutelle, a day or two since, told the following story as illustrating Blaine's subtlety in matters of State: "Mr. Blaine's versatility is wonderful. I remember in the administration of Governor Garcelon, when the Democrats were trying to vote the State from us, and when Maine was in fever heat and civil war seemed impending, Mr. Blaine was the chairman of the State Committee, and had charge of the Republican fight. We had been endeavoring to get the Governor to submit the questions at issue to the Supreme Court, but had not succeeded.

"Mr. Blaine led the fighting; was aggressive and unyielding, and of course nothing that he could say would be listened to by the other side. Presently there appeared a letter to the Governor, signed by Lot M. Morrill, who was known otherwise as a peace-loving, conservative Republican, asking the Governor to lay before the Supreme Court the questions at issue. The letter was mild in tone, frank and fair in its expressions, and adroitly put upon the Democrats the onus of refusing to submit the dispute to arbitration.

MRS. J. G. BLAINE, JR.

"Public sentiment at once changed. The Governor was obliged to submit the matter, and the decision was in favor of the Republicans. For years Mr. Morrill received the praise of hundreds of men, not only in Maine, but throughout the United States, for his wisdom and tact.

"Mr. Blaine wrote that letter. Mr. Morrill simply copied it and signed his name."

HIS DOMESTIC SORROWS.

Mr. and Mrs. Blaine had six children, three sons

and three daughters. Two years and a half before his death all his children were living. On January 15, 1890, Walker, the eldest son, died in Washington after a very brief illness. At the time he was an Assistant Secretary of State, and a young man of most brilliant promise. He had achieved distinction by able service on several occasions. He was a graduate of Yale, and in many respects he was the prototype of his father. He inherited the brow and eye of his father, and resembled him closely mentally and in his tastes and habits. He was very dear to his father's heart, and his sudden death was the real cause of the beginning of Mr. Blaine's collapse.

On February 2, less than a month after the death of Walker, the eldest daughter died. She was Mrs. John J. Coppinger, wife of a colonel in the army. On June 18 of this year, very soon after the Minneapolis Convention, Emmons Blaine, the second son, died, and the fact that his death was superinduced by his tremendous exertions to secure the nomination of his father only served to increase the sorrow of his parents. Emmons Blaine three years ago married Miss Anita McCormick, whose fortune was $3,000,000, and his life had been passed since leaving Harvard in the affairs of Western railroads.

Bereavements so many and in such proximity served to undermine the health of the rugged physique, and to these sorrows was added another which, perhaps, caused more grief than all the rest. The sensational marriage and still more sensational married life of his

youngest son, James G. Blaine, Jr., in all the details, are still fresh in the public mind.

In all these sorrows Mr. and Mrs. Blaine ever had the sympathy of the whole people of the country. Three children are living, Mrs. Walter Damrosch, Miss Hattie Blaine, and James G. Blaine, Jr. The unfortunate marriage of the latter, and the subsequent separation of himself and wife, form a painful chapter in the family history. Mr. Blaine wrote an open letter which was intended to suppress public gossip and justify himself and wife in the part they acted in this unfortunate affair.

THE WASHINGTON HOME.

Mr. Blaine's house has one of the most beautiful interiors in Washington. It was from the first a beautiful home, where sorrows, frequent and heavy though they had been, never once shut out the sunlight. Mrs. Blaine would have it so, and Mr. Blaine liked it. While in deepest suffering for those who had been taken away, the devoted wife and mother never ceased to keep the home bright and beautiful for those who were left. Crape was never on the door, and at no time after the death of Walker, and two weeks later the death of Alice, were the blinds closed against the sunlight.

The wedding of Margaret Blaine and Walter Damrosch will long be remembered as the most beautiful house wedding Washington had seen for many a day. Mrs. Blaine was determined to cast no shadow over her daughter's happiness. The windows

were thrown open on that perfect May day, and the whole house seemed filled with sunshine, while the outlook on Lafayette Square showed the first foliage and blossoms of spring.

The drawing-room is the whole width of the spacious old-fashioned house, and is finished in white with delicate gold lines. The beautiful room was decked with roses, and beneath the portraits of her children, Walker and Alice, Mrs. Blaine had set masses of violets. For the first time mother and daughters laid aside their black gowns. Before the bride and her sister appeared in their white gowns, Mrs. Blaine came in to greet the wedding guests. All the morning the suffering woman had been in the seclusion of her own room, making the bravest struggle to lift herself above and out of the grief which weighed so heavily upon her.

It was not strange that Mrs. Blaine's nearest friends doubted her strength to endure the ordeal. But when she came to the drawing-room that morning there was no sign of the struggle she had undergone. She had laid off her black gown for one of soft gray satin and black lace, and with a gracious sweetness of manner none will ever forget, she welcomed the guests. Mrs. Blaine again put on her black gown, but their home life went on with no outward sign of mourning. Until Mr. Blaine's last illness their friends always found them in the drawing-room in the late afternoon daily, where, around a simple tea table, Mrs. Blaine and Miss Dodge were the cleverest talkers.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Reminiscences of the "Plumed Knight."

JAMES G. BLAINE was a country boy. He had the pre-eminent advantages of fresh air; of bare feet in summer; of sleeping in an old-time, healthy house; of working in the harvest fields; and of throwing snow-balls in winter. His early life was not artificial, fashionable, "dudeish," and effeminate; like the Titans of old he husbanded strength by contact with mother-earth. He was a manly boy. He did not grow in a city back-yard; he was an oak of the mountains.

He is remembered at Brownsville, Pennsylvania, where he spent some part of his early life, and many incidents are related by the residents of that locality which show the character of the boy. What he was then in the commendable qualities of his character he was in after years, and his broad manhood was only an enlargement of his boyhood, the mind mature, the judgment formed, the conscience quickened, the magnificent faculties developed.

The interest which the old friends and neighbors take in a lad they have known and the pride they feel in his successes are pleasantly illustrated in the incidents narrated concerning Mr. Blaine's early life.

A LEADER IN THE GAME.

"He was a master boy," says one old lady of Brownsville, "to lead off. He would get together a lot of youngsters and propose a frolic in the hills, a game of ball, or a fishing jaunt, and all agreed to his suggestion and joined in whatever he proposed.

"It was enough to always insure the sport that Jimmy Blaine had charge of the game or the frolic, for it was understood he would not fail to do his part for the general entertainment. He protected the younger boys against the older, but taught them all to rely upon themselves as much as possible. He was cheerful, generous, and truthful, and always ready to do a good turn for friend or neighbor. He came to our house to borrow a net one morning, and father—that's what I called my husband—didn't want to let it go. 'I'll bring it back to-morrow,' said Jimmy. 'It isn't bringing it back that I'm talking about, but letting it go,' said father. Jimmy thought a minute; then he replied, 'You'd better lend it to me than to somebody that'll *never* bring it back.' Father laughed, and then I knew he would give in. Jimmy got the net, and, of course, returned it according to agreement.

"Once I got him to stand still long enough to answer a few questions. He was so full of life and fun that it was hard work to keep him quiet for any length of time. I asked him some questions in history, geography, and the catechism, and he answered all correctly—that is, if I knew the correct answers—and then I asked him what he expected to follow when

he grew up. 'Maybe I'll be a preacher or a steamboat captain,' he replied, 'but I'd rather be a member of Congress.' He hadn't forgotten this reply when he was here a few years ago, and acknowledged that he had had his preference."

GENEROUS TO A FAULT.

Another aged dame remembered him as the most charitable boy she ever knew. "Why, he would give away his dinner rather than have any one else go hungry. He gave his pennies and his fruit and his candy to the children of poor parents, and did this so often that it was talked about in the town. He played jokes upon some of his mates, but only upon his equals in strength and opportunity. He seemed to despise everything in the way of a mean advantage."

"When we were boys," said a bright-eyed old gentleman, "down on Indian Hill farm, Jim Blaine was a lively chap. He kept the whole township in arms. Once I got even with him. I was down in the meadow pitching hay. He knew that I was going to do that job, and he went down there a day or two before and fixed one of the haycocks so it could not be lifted. He ran a long wire through it in such a way as to hold it together, and then fastened it under the middle of the stack to a post which he had driven in the ground. Some of the other boys knew about the game, and they stood around looking kind of sneaking and smiling a little.

"I tackled the doctored stack early in the day. I

drove my fork into the top, and, spitting on my hands, bore down upon it. It didn't budge. I tried it once more, with a little extra strength, and broke the fork clean off at the handle. A boy sitting on a rail fence snickered, and I knew something was up. A moment's examination convinced me that the stack was tied down, and just then the boy who had laughed pointed in the direction of another stack not far away.

"I felt in my bones that Jim Blaine was hiding there. So I crawled up kind of easy, and finding him watching the performance on his hands and knees, with some of the grass thrown over him, I got behind him and raised him one with my boot. I was mad, and I put a good deal of heft into that kick, for he shot out of the stack head first, as if he had been fired from a cannon. It humped him for a while, I tell you, and there was a lively scattering among the rest of the boys.

HOW HE TURNED THE TABLES.

"He was always great in learning some good piece for speaking in school. It was nothing for him to get it by heart, as the boys called it. He generally told the boys what he was going to speak, so that none of them would get the same; but once a fellow, whose name was Ames or Amos, pitched upon the same piece that Jim had, just for a joke, and as his name was called first, he took all the wind out of Jim's sails by pretty good speaking. Jim didn't appear to mind it much, but the teacher remarked that they had better

have an understanding in future, and avoid repetition. The time came pretty soon when they had a school exhibition, and each one who took part had to write his own piece. Blaine was given his choice between the first and last speeches, and he chose the first. It was grand. I don't think he has made a better one since.

"When Ames's name was called he wasn't there, although a few minutes before he was seen in his seat. 'Gone home, sick,' said one of the boys. It finally leaked out that Ames lacked either the ability or the disposition to write a piece for himself and had gone to Blaine for help, and that Jim, not caring to keep all the good things, and remembering Ames's favor on a former occasion, had copied and given him most of his own speech, and had only followed Ames's example in using it first. Ames left the school and this part of the country shortly afterward."

DAILY LIFE IN WASHINGTON.

From a distinguished correspondent who has known Mr. Blaine intimately for many years, we gather the following interesting details of his daily life and habits:

At first he lived in Washington in a nomadic way—in hotels or boarding-houses, as do most Congressmen—but when he was elected Speaker he bought a house on Fifteenth Street, in the best quarter of the town. Opposite lived Hamilton Fish, then Secretary of State; next door lived Fernando Wood; General Sherman's house was only a few doors dis-

tant, and General Butler could be found just around the corner.

Blaine's house was thought a handsome one at that time, but it was only a plain brick structure in a row, and it cuts no sort of a figure in these days when big mansions in the Queen Anne, Elizabethan, Norman, and I know not how many other styles abound at the capital. There were two big parlors on the first floor, and back of them a sitting-room and dining-room, and all four rooms connected by folding doors, so that the crowds that used to surge in at the Speaker's official receptions were measurably well accommodated. In the belongings of this, his first Washington home, Blaine showed a fondness for engravings, for substantial furniture, and for books.

WIT AND HUMOR.

He was much given to hospitality, and never appeared so happy as when entertaining a congenial dinner party at his big round table. For his dinner-table talks he had an inexhaustible fund of anecdotes and witticisms. I never heard him tell the same story twice. He did not resemble in the least the hand-organ type of man who has only one little set of tunes. No matter what the topic may be, he is sure to contribute to the conversation something particularly bright and entertaining.

When not entertaining friends at his own house he usually dined out. I remember to have warned him once of the perils of the diner-out—how an eminent man had come to an untimely end by eating big din-

ners. He said he observed a strict rule at dinner parties—he took soup and roast beef, but no prepared dishes; no dessert, except a little ice cream. By sticking closely to this dietary programme, he could dine out every day in the week without injuring his digestion.

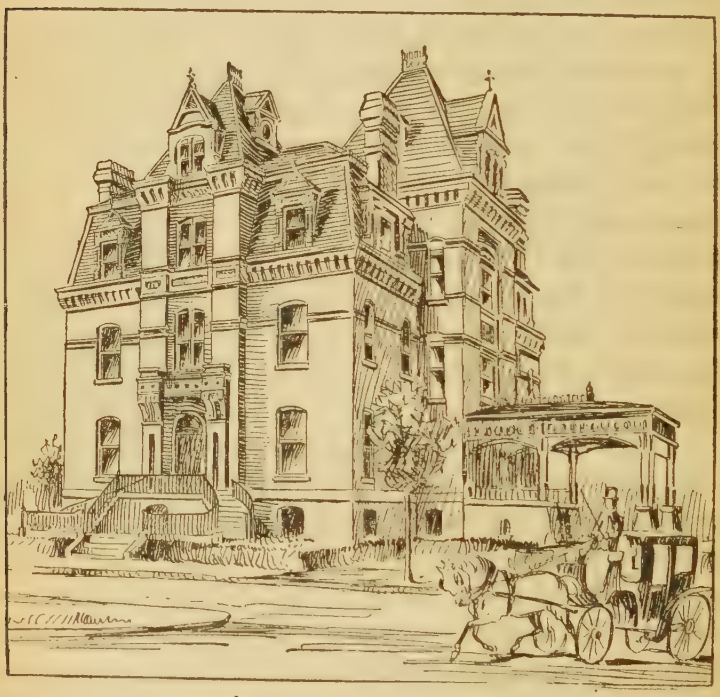
In those days Blaine was not a great letter-writer, either with his own hand or vicariously through that of his secretary. He did not, like Garfield, reply to all the letters he received. He was a great newspaper reader, and always knew the attitude of every really important journal in the country on the dominant issues of the day. He knew the history of these journals, too, and something of the men who made them, and if there was any power behind the chairs of their editors he was pretty sure to be informed about it.

"WASN'T QUITE SURE."

He was not accessible at all times and to all the world, as many men who cherish great political ambition think it necessary to be. The impassable black guardian of the hall door was never quite sure that Mr. Blaine was in, but he would see. If the visitor was not welcome he would manage to make him believe that the Speaker had just gone out a few minutes before. This colored person had a fine instinct for discerning the men whom his master would probably wish to receive. They were shown into the front parlor; others waited in the hall.

In the Fifteenth Street house Blaine lived while in

Washington until after the death of Garfield. He had previously begun to build a huge, expensive red-brick pile out on the P Street Circle, deeming himself comfortably rich at the time, and thinking the position of



BLAINE'S WASHINGTON MANSION.

Secretary of State carried with it duties of enlarged hospitality. The house was a mistake as he soon found. He lived in it only about a year. As a private citizen it was much too large for his needs; besides, a considerable share of his fortune melted away in the

great shrinkage in stocks, and he did not feel able to support the expensive establishment which the house demanded. He considered himself very fortunate to be able to lease it for a sum which amounted to six per cent. on its cost.

Then he condensed his household into a dwelling of moderate capacity, facing on Lafayette Square. From his front window he could see the White House through the trees in the pretty park. Not many of his own belongings came with this house save his books and a few pictures. In it he did most of the work on his "Twenty Years of Congress," living as retired as his friends would let him, and getting his exercise mainly from a daily morning walk to the Capitol, whither he went to consult the books in the Congressional Library.

THE OLD HOMESTEAD.

All this time his real home, if the attachments of himself and the members of his family were considered, was the large, old-fashioned, broad-fronted white house, with its green blinds, its maples, and its grassy yard, which stands on a quiet, shady street near the State Capitol, in Augusta, Me. This house typifies the well-to-do phase of village life in New England, as it expressed itself in architecture before the recent mania for colors, angles, balconies, and fanciful forms came in. It represents the plainness, solidity, and conservatism of the last generation.

Mr. Blaine modified it very little, and not at all at the expense of its sober, old-time appearance. He

added two or three rooms in the rear—one large library, which was his work-room, and which during the many hard fights he waged with the Democrats when he was chairman of the State Republican Committee used to be a rendezvous for his lieutenants from all parts of the State. In the course of two Maine campaigns I saw a good deal of Mr. Blaine. He was the busiest man in the State, hurrying from county to county to address mass-meetings, writing telegrams on the trains, getting a pocketful of dispatches at every town, dictating letters at night to his secretary, yet always cheerful and companionable, and with a good joke or anecdote ready to enliven every occasion.

A STILL HUNT.

He knew the whole State as well as his own door-yard, and was acquainted with the leading men in every town. He brought the canvass down to the school districts. The hurrah work of processions, banners, and big meetings he estimated at its proper value, but he never depended on it to produce results. The real business of a campaign was to perfect local organization, ascertain who were the doubtful voters, and bring argument and personal influence to bear upon them through the efforts of their Republican neighbors.

Saturdays we special correspondents used to manage to get back to Augusta if we could, to spend a quiet Sunday afternoon with Blaine at his house. In the evening some musical friends of the family would

usually come in, and we had a good time singing old-fashioned Church tunes, for which Blaine had a fondness, and in which he would join with his children and with all the members of the company who could make any show of a voice.

HE STOOD CLOSE TO THE PEOPLE.

On the floor of the House, in the Speaker's chair, again on the floor of the House, hence in the Senate, and during political campaigns, on the stump in almost every Northern State, Mr. Blaine was emphatically with the people and of the people. His opinions on all questions were pronounced, sometimes to aggressiveness, and his worst enemy never accused him of evading or avoiding any responsibility or the expression of his conviction on any public issue.

"What great measure did Mr. Blaine ever originate?" asks the unfledged but omnipotent chamber statesman, and might go on indefinitely asking what great measure did Mr. Sherman, or Mr. Thurman ever originate, or Mr. Edmunds, or Mr. Conkling, or Mr. Webster, or Mr. Gallatin? Such critics and such criticisms are equally shallow. Great measures grow in the minds of the people. Specie payment came after long public discussion, and now Senators are quarreling as to who it was that drafted the bill passed in 1875.

So it is with all measures of great public moment. They do not spring from the mind of one man sitting behind his Congressional desk. The duty of the statesman is to shape, mould, guide, direct in a Re-

publican government. The creative power is in the minds of many, and the cause of action is necessity. The great lawyer does not create his case. He argues it, develops it, applies principles to it.

A FAMOUS SPEECH.

To say that Mr. Blaine was a power in Congress is simply to affirm history. Though entering very young, he made his mark at once. At the period of darkest depression in the war, when anxiety brooded everywhere and boded everything, Mr. Blaine delivered a speech on "The Ability of the American People to Suppress the Rebellion," which has been cited for the great attention and commendation it received. Its value lay not alone in its timeliness, for after its first wide circulation it was reprinted as a campaign document in the Presidential campaign of 1864.

It was the delivery of this speech, and some discussions which took place shortly after, that caused Thaddeus Stevens to say that "Blaine of Maine has shown as great aptitude and ability for the higher walks of public life as any man that had come to Congress during his period of service."

VALUABLE SERVICE.

During the first session of Mr. Blaine's service as member of the Post Office Committee he took an active part in co-operation with the chairman, Hon. John B. Alley, and the late James Brooks of New York, in encouraging and securing the system of postal cars now in universal use. Distribution on the cars had not been attempted on any great scale, and the first

appropriations for the enlarged service were not granted without opposition.

Following the war, and throughout the period of reconstruction, Mr. Blaine was active, energetic, and intelligent. He was especially prominent in shaping some of the most important features of the Fourteenth Amendment, particularly that relating to the basis of representation. The discussions on this great series of questions, in which Blaine figured largely, are among the most interesting and valuable in the history of the American Congress.

OFF TO EUROPE.

Mr. Blaine became a leader in legislation as he became the leader of men generally, by virtue of his comprehensiveness of mind, his quick perception of objective points, and his devotion in advocating what he felt was right and duty.

In 1867 Mr. Blaine sought a temporary relaxation from official cares and labors, and for the first time paid a short visit to Europe. While he was out of the country the theory of paying the public debt in greenbacks was started in Ohio by Mr. Pendleton, and in Massachusetts by General Butler. Just after his return in the autumn, at a special or adjourned session of Congress in November, Mr. Blaine assaulted the proposition in a speech of great research, logic, and force. It thus happened that he was the first man in either branch of Congress who spoke against the financial heresy that in subsequent years has engrossed so much of public attention. From

that time, both in Congress and before the people, Mr. Blaine was indefatigable in bringing the public opinion of the country to the right standard of financial and national honor.

THE YOUNGEST SPEAKER.

Six years in Congress had made him so conspicuous as a leader, and so noted as a parliamentarian, that he was made Speaker of the House, a position that he filled with marked ability for six years, when the Democrats obtained control of that body. Mr. Blaine was perhaps the youngest man who ever occupied the Speaker's chair, being then 39 years of age. He presided over some of the most important and exciting sessions of the House, and by his just rulings, admirable tact, and magnetic influence, he passed through the long and trying period with the approbation of both friend and foe.

A MEMORABLE EVENT.

Even more marked, at least in the popular eye, than his career as Speaker, was Mr. Blaine's course in the House when he returned to the floor at the close of his Speakership. Few have forgotten the sudden tilt by which, in a day, a victorious and exultant Democratic majority was changed into a surprised, subdued, and saddened crowd, under Mr. Blaine's aggressive and unexpected tactics.

The debates of that memorable session on the proposition to remove the disabilities of Jefferson Davis are still fresh in all minds, and more likely to be appreciated perhaps to-day than at any time within the last

three years. Mr. Blaine's speeches laid the foundation of success in the campaign of 1876, though he was not selected as the standard-bearer. The excitement growing out of this exciting session with all its attendant events brought Mr. Blaine more prominently before the country than any other citizen.

His congressional career embraced the most trying period of his country's history, the sombre years of the rebellion, the reconstruction period, and the perilous time when the election of President Hayes aroused an apparently triumphant Democratic party almost to the verge of madness.

A GREAT DEBATER.

A good example of Mr. Blaine's powers as a debater is found in a speech delivered in the Senate, April 14, 1879, when an effort was made by the Democrats to strike out the words from a section of the Revised Statutes which provided for the use of soldiers to keep peace at the polls. In reply to the charge that the soldiers were used to intimidate Southern voters, Mr. Blaine said:

"The entire South has 1,155 soldiers to intimidate, overrun, oppress and destroy the liberties of 15,000,000 people! In the Southern States there are 1,203 counties. If you distribute the soldiers, there is not quite one for each county. If you distribute them territorially, there is one for every seven hundred square miles of territory, so that if you make a territorial distribution, I would remind the honorable Senator from Delaware, if I saw him in his seat, that the

quota for his State would be three. 'One ragged sergeant and two abreast,' as the old song has it. That is the force ready to destroy the liberties of Delaware."

He was a member of the Thirty-eighth, Thirty-ninth, Fortieth, Forty-first, Forty-second, Forty-third, and Forty-fourth Congresses, and became the acknowledged leader of the party in the House, and his speeches during the period which he served in Congress are a glowing tribute to his ability, his acute sagacity, his broad and sound statesmanship, and unflinching patriotism.

CHAPTER XXIV.

In the Valley of Death.

The doubt in which the country was kept with regard to Mr. Blaine's physical condition by exaggerated and conflicting reports was at last mournfully dispelled, and his fellow-citizens were aware that the career of the most distinguished of our contemporary statesmen was nearing its end. There was still some difference of opinion as to the precise phase which the illness from which he was suffering had reached, and as to the imminence of its apprehended consequence.

There were those who said that a rally of something more than a transient kind was not past hoping for, while others insisted that the final issue had become a question of hours or at most of days. The one point to which the American people paid attention and attached importance was that Mr. Blaine was indisputably stricken with a fatal sickness, from which there was no hope of his recovery, and that while he might linger for a greater or shorter length of time, according to circumstances which could not be foreseen, the death sentence had been pronounced.

It is not merely the lapse of time that measures life

and consumes it, and at sixty-two Mr. Blaine had lived as much as many a one twenty years his senior. Always a man of correct and abstemious habits, and in his later years, at least, solicitous for the preservation of his health, the relatively early decay of his physical powers was a striking instance of the sword wearing out the scabbard.

A HARD WORKER.

He had all his life been a hard worker at the most exhausting kind of toil, and to the demands made by his brilliant and restless intellect upon a body never more than ordinarily robust were added the exactions of a singularly nervous and emotional temperament. Happiness, with the peace of mind which it implies, was the tonic which he needed, the elixir of life to have prolonged his years.

If his ambitions could have been satisfied and his affections spared, he would not in all human probability have been stricken in the very fulness of his manhood; but the medicine which alone might have saved him he could not have, and the accumulation of sorrow, anxiety and disappointment bore him down.

On December 18, 1892, the announcement was made that James G. Blaine's death at any hour would be no surprise to those acquainted with his critical condition. About the only assurance given by his physician was that his immediate death was not expected. The sick man had a sinking spell in the morning, which was of a most alarming character, and from which he rallied with the greatest difficulty. A

return of the prostration, it was feared, would find his vitality too low for recovery.

THE TOTTERING OAK.

Mr. Blaine had not been a well man for more than a year. When he returned from Bar Harbor about a year before and took up his winter residence in Washington, he showed a marked improvement over what had been his condition when he left New York for Bar Harbor in the previous June. He took up his work in the State Department, but it was noticed that his old time energy was lacking. He was not regular in his attendance at the office.

The least inclement weather usually kept him from going over to the Department, and he would transact the routine business of his office, such as the signing of his mail, at his residence. He would be troubled very frequently with what was believed to be temporary sick spells, which would last perhaps for a day and sometimes for several days. He was in the hands of a physician most of the time, and at no time within the preceding twelve months could he have been considered a thoroughly well man.

After resigning from the State Department he went away and the rest and freedom seemed to benefit him.

His appearance, however, when he returned to Washington in the fall was not reassuring. His trouble seemed to return with greater frequency until he was practically confined to the house. A short drive, a couple of weeks previous, was the last time

he was outside of his house, and it was believed the last time he was outside his chamber.

CONCEALMENT FINALLY ABANDONED.

It had been believed for more than a year by observers that he suffered from some organic trouble. The family and physicians would never admit it until the above date, when the attending physician made the statement that "evidences of local organic disease have been manifested recently, and it is believed that his present condition is due to this cause." There is reason to believe that the family were aware of Mr. Blaine's precarious condition, but, as in the case of other great public men, there was a disposition to conceal the exact state of the patient's health from those outside the family circle.

A SYMPATHETIC CROWD.

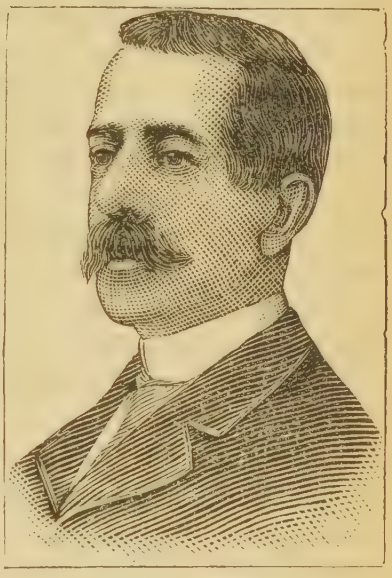
The scenes about the Blaine mansion were sad, and, at times, almost dramatic. The news of his sinking spell in the morning soon spread on the streets and about the hotels, and all day long groups of sympathetic and anxious watchers stood in the vicinity of the "Red House," waiting for tidings from the sick-room. It was not surprising then that about 8 o'clock in the evening one of the local papers put out an edition telling of the statesman's near approach to death. Many on reading the extra hastened toward Mr. Blaine's house. The crowd gathered to such an extent that its presence was made known to the inmates.

James G. Blaine, Jr., about half past 8, came out of

the front door, and hurriedly approaching a group standing on the pavement, said with some emotion:

"What does this mean? What are you standing about here for?"

"Mr. Blaine," said one of those present, "we heard and have read in an evening paper that your father was dying."



WALKER BLAINE.

"That is untrue," said young Mr. Blaine excitedly. "My father is very ill, but it is untrue that he is dying."

"We are very glad to hear you say so," answered the gentlemen, and the group dispersed.

Approaching a newspaper correspondent, Mr. Blaine, somewhat softened by the sympathetic tone of the gentlemen whom he had just questioned, asked: "What has caused this excitement?"

He was told the news had spread over the city that his father was critically ill, if not dying, and that such a statement had been published in an extra edition of an evening paper. He asked for and was handed a copy. He opened it and as the headline "Near Death" caught his eye, he exclaimed:

"That is absolutely unjustifiable. No information has been given from this house or by Mr. Blaine's physicians that would warrant that line. Mr. Blaine is very sick, but at no time have I said that he was critically ill, and any publication to that effect is untrue. The physicians have just left and have assured us that Mr. Blaine is better than he was this morning, and is likely to pass a comfortable night." With this he hurried into the house.

Two police officers quietly dispersed the crowd from the immediate vicinity of the house, but late into the night small groups of newspaper men and others watched at a respectful distance.

THE LAMP FLICKERING.

The truth is that all day long the life of Mr. Blaine hung trembling in the balance. For more than an hour in the forenoon hope was abandoned and the end was momentarily expected by physicians, family and friends. All simulation was thrown aside in the apparently imminent presence of death, and the suppressed facts of his illness—the long denied but now admitted Bright's disease, the occasional intervals of delirium, the long hours when he had lain incapable of speech or motion, these and other distressing features of his illness all incidental to the one overpowering organic trouble, Bright's disease—aggravated as this had been by a cold contracted while imprudently venturing out driving two weeks before, and by malarial fever, and confronted by a constitution

impaired by nearly two years of continuous sickness—all these facts were now tacitly admitted.

The physicians declared that there had not been any hemorrhages as had been asserted, but this was almost the only alarming symptom which was denied. The first crisis was reached between 10 and 11 o'clock this morning, when a sinking spell set in, from which the worst was feared. His family were called round the bedside and his physicians sent messenger after messenger to the nearest drug store, with prescriptions requiring hasty attention. The distinguished patient lay unconscious and to all appearances dying, until shortly before 1 o'clock, when a slight rally set in. His pulse, which had almost ceased to beat, became again perceptible, and partial consciousness was restored. The rally continued during the day and into the night.

WALTER J. DAMROSCH.

NO IMMEDIATE APPREHENSION.

While the improvement in Mr. Blaine's condition was but slight and not sufficient to afford any great amount of encouragement to his family and friends,

the reaction had seemed to modify the feeling of apprehension for the immediate future. James G. Blaine, Jr., and Walter J. Damrosch, the ex-Secretary's son-in-law, walked down the avenue in the evening.

All day representatives of the press patrolled Madison Place and carefully watched the old red mansion which has become celebrated for its historical associations, and the fatality with which misfortune has followed its occupants. From the Sickels-Keyes tragedy, more than a third of a century ago, followed by the attempted assassination of Secretary Seward, during the last year of the civil war, down to the present time, the pall of ill fate has hung over the mansion. During the less than four years' occupancy of this house by the Blaine family, his daughter, the wife of Colonel Coppinger; Walker Blaine and Emmons Blaine, the Secretary's promising sons, died.

VISITED BY PRESIDENT HARRISON.

President Harrison, accompanied by his private secretary, Mr. E. J Halford, walked over from the White House to the ex-Secretary's residence in the evening, to personally inquire as to his condition, and expressed relief and gratification at being informed that there had been some abatement of the more alarming symptoms.

From an intimate friend of the family it was learned that it was only when Mr. Blaine was suddenly seized with the sinking spell in the morning which threatened for some minutes to terminate in heart failure, that his family fully realized how near he was to death's

door. For a few seconds he seemed to be in extremis and the watchers bent anxiously over him. The emaciated face of the dying statesman was white as marble and his features sadly drawn. At times he scarcely seemed to breathe, and at others gasped for breath. The physicians who had been hastily summoned were in the meantime not idle. They plied him with stimulative cordials, the trained nurses chafed his extremities, and it was only after working over the patient for upward of thirty minutes and the application of every art known to the medical profession that Mr. Blaine slowly revived.

MRS. JAMES G. BLAINE.

MRS. BLAINE'S WONDERFUL WILL.

The family gathered around the bedside were all in tears, except Mrs. Blaine. She maintained outward composure throughout the trying scene, and calmly gave such directions to the attendants as were necessary. Her will power, when in fact her heart was breaking, is described as something pathetic and marvelous. It has been her cheerfulness that has soothed her husband's despondency. Mr. Blaine's physical condition was such that he at times gave away to despondency. While manifesting no fear

of death, Mr. Blaine often said he did not want to die.

Shortly after 11 o'clock P. M. a closed carriage was driven rapidly to the front of the Blaine mansion from which alighted Miss Hattie Blaine, Miss Abigail Dodge (Gail Hamilton) and Mrs. Damrosch. The ladies were closely veiled and ran through the crowd of correspondents and others gathered in front of the house into the mansion, followed by James G. Blaine, Jr., who had just returned from a few minutes' walk. Mr. Blaine, in response to an inquiry, said his father was about the same.

DR. JOHNSTON DESCRIBES THE ATTACK.

At 9.30 o'clock the next evening a reporter had an interview with Mr. Blaine's attending physicians, Drs. W. W. Johnston and Frank Hyatt. Speaking for both of them, Dr. Johnston said:

"Blaine is distinctly better to-night than he was last night, and much better than he was this morning."

"What was the nature of the attack to-day, Doctor?"

"It was a failure of his heart to perform its functions satisfactorily."

"His trouble is not in his heart?" was asked.

"No, it is not. But in the general weakness from which he is suffering, all the organs are affected, and the heart makes manifest the weakness of the whole system. Blaine's condition has been such that when he takes cold, as he did ten days or two weeks ago, fever followed, causing a deterioration of the system.

MRS. WALTER DAMROSCH.

For some days prior to and including yesterday, however, he was recovering from the effects of the cold and fever, and last night he was entirely free from fever, his pulse beating strongly and his condition

quite gratifying. This morning, however, he had an ill turn, his heart-beats became more indistinct and irregular, and he was more languid and less observant. However, he rallied from that condition, those symptoms disappeared, he has taken nourishment during the afternoon, and to-night, as I said, he is better and brighter. His pulse is stronger and the reaction quite marked."

It was the general impression throughout the country that Mr. Blaine was in his last sickness, and the end was not far distant. For a long time alarming reports concerning his impaired health had been circulated; no one considered him a well man; his herculean labors had told heavily on his strong constitution, and now the majestic tower was trembling and giving ominous sign of its final downfall.

The intense sympathetic interest felt everywhere testified to the distinguished statesman's popularity. In the House and Senate expressions of solicitude and grief were heard on all sides. Democrats joined Republicans in their sympathy for the family and expressions of regret that the life of one of America's most brilliant statesmen was evidently drawing to a close. The chaplains of both branches referred feelingly to the serious illness of Mr. Blaine in their morning invocations.

CHAPTER XXVI.

The Closing Scenes.

On the morning of January 27, 1893, at eleven o'clock, James G. Blaine died. Gathered about his bedside when death came were all those he loved best. In thirty minutes from the time of the announcement that the end had come the historic mansion where he breathed his last became the one object of special interest to the civilized world. The sad news flew to the ends of the earth.

Mr. Blaine sank to his final rest like a tired child in its mother's arms. In fact, the anxious watchers at the bedside knew not when the end had come.

The first warning that the end was at hand came at nine o'clock in the morning, when Mr. Blaine suffered a totally unexpected relapse. Both of the physicians who had been constantly in attendance upon him were hastily summoned. Dr. Johnston was the first to arrive, Dr. Hyatt following a few minutes later. They did all that could be done for the dying man, but soon realized that Mr. Blaine was beyond human aid.

It was at half-past ten that the family were summoned, and Dr. Johnston, as gently as he could, informed them that the end was close at hand.

Then the family entered the sick-chamber, and waited for death to come. Mrs. Blaine had been with the sufferer all the morning. In fact, to her devotion and constant attention was largely due Mr. Blaine's great battle for life. When he died there were present at his bedside his wife, his two daughters, Mrs. Walter Damrosch and Miss Harriet Blaine; Mr. James G. Blaine, Jr.; Mr. Walter Damrosch and Miss Abigail Dodge.

DR. JOHNSTON.

WATCHED FOR DEATH IN SILENCE.

From the time the family gathered about the bedside of the dying statesman until his spirit had departed no word was spoken. Now and then the doctors or the professional nurse would move about, seeking to ease the sufferer as best they could.

Mrs. Blaine sat by the head of the bed, holding one wasted hand of the sufferer and smoothing back his hair. His two daughters knelt at either side of the bed, weeping silently, their heads buried in their hands.

That the end had been so long expected robbed it of none of its horrors. During the last half hour of Mr. Blaine's life it was simply a weary waiting for the departing spirit to take its flight.

Dr. Johnston at eleven o'clock felt the patient's pulse, then bent down in the vain hope of hearing some faint echo of life. Then he knew the end had come. Without a word he placed the sufferer's hands across his chest and, motioning to Dr. Hyatt, quietly left the room.

A few moments later the physicians left the house. Walking up to the newspaper men who were in waiting Dr. Johnston said: "Gentlemen, Mr. Blaine is dead."

Mr. Blaine had been critically ill for weeks, and there was no hope of his recovery. Notwithstanding this fact the news of his death came suddenly and almost unexpectedly. For several days he had been somewhat better, and it was confidently expected that he would live for many days. The return of pleasant weather, it was thought by the physicians, would materially aid Mr. Blaine.

FOR MANY YEARS AN INVALID.

Mr. Blaine had been in bad health since 1887. The first serious symptoms were caused by what is technically known as arterial fibrosis—that is, a hardening of the walls of the arteries. This, as time wore on, developed into a form of Bright's disease. It also impaired other organs, notably the heart and lungs.

The stroke of paralysis from which Mr. Blaine suffered while travelling in Milan, some years ago, was directly traceable to this illness. No remedies appeared to be of avail. The family became alarmed, and consulted distinguished specialists. In no instance

was other than temporary relief afforded. The general system became impaired, and three years after the first alarming indications Mr. Blaine became a confirmed invalid.

Mr. Blaine's vitality was so great, his mind was so active, and his spirit so high that the members of his family hoped that death could be averted for many years. This hopeful spirit was manifested all through the time when Mr. Blaine succumbed to the slightest shock. Cold settled in his throat and chest frequently, and on every occasion he was forced to either take to his bed or suspend his daily pursuits. The repetition of these attacks finally resulted in a species of nervous depression, and towards the last Mr. Blaine became a hypochondriac.

Despite this fear that every weak spell would be his last, his spirit and ambition never left him.

A HARD FIGHT FOR LIFE.

His fight for life during the last six weeks was regarded in local medical circles as one of the most remarkable examples of physical endurance to be found in the records of medical science.

All the doctors could do was to endeavor to keep life in the frame as long as possible. Time and time again death had appeared inevitable, but the use of heroic remedies was, until the last, able to postpone the inevitable end for a time.

The local physicians had been most constant in their attendance at the bedside of the sick man. Professional nurses and the members of the family had

exhausted every means at their command to ease the weary hours.

Even at nine o'clock in the morning a hope was entertained that Mr. Blaine might be pulled through this relapse. Nitro-glycerine was administered, but not with the usual result of easing the pressure upon the heart and restoring comparative calm to his throbbing nerves. His pulse became intermittent. For a time it would beat furiously, and then stop altogether for several moments. Then œdema of the lungs set in. Mucous secretions began to fill the air spaces. The breathing became labored and finally stertorous. Mr. Blaine was at this point unable to move. He seemed conscious that the end was rapidly drawing near. The expression of the face, the twitching of the facial muscles, were evidence that he was conscious. The lamp of his life and the light of his great intellect were extinguished simultaneously.

REV. DR. HAMLIN.

MIND CLEAR TO THE LAST.

A remarkable feature of Mr. Blaine's entire illness lies in the fact that his brain was at all times clear. Physical exhaustion frequently intervened and reduced

him to a semi-comatose condition, but at no time, it is believed, did his brain wander.

In the latter stages of the illness with which Mr. Blaine suffered softening of the brain is not an uncommon symptom. This case is said to be an exception. To the last he retained his mental penetration. At times he was keenly alive to his condition and surroundings and at other times dimly conscious, but no mental delusions and no wanderings of the mind were ever noticed.

The news of Mr. Blaine's death spread like wildfire. Crowds gathered on the corner and visitors flocked to the house. The Rev. Dr. Hamlin, who was passing the house when the announcement of death was made, at once entered and remained with the family for some time.

PRESIDENT HARRISON INFORMED.

Word was sent to the President immediately after the death, and at twenty-five minutes after eleven President Harrison, accompanied by Private Secretary Halford and Lieutenant Parker, walked over to the Blaine mansion. The President showed marked signs of grief. Postmaster-General Wanamaker followed the President, and then the other members of the Cabinet and many prominent people followed.

The President received warning of Mr. Blaine's approaching end through a bulletin, which informed him that Mr. Blaine could not live through the day. He immediately had the substance of the despatch telegraphed over the departmental wires to the vari-

ous Cabinet officers. It was a few minutes later only that Mr. Montgomery, the operator at the White House, received another message addressed to the President. "Blaine is"——is all he waited to hear, and he started on a run for the room of Private Secretary Halford. The final word "dead" reached him as he was in the hallway separating the telegraph room from Mr. Halford's office.

The Cabinet was immediately notified, and came to the Cabinet meeting at the usual hour fully prepared.

THE OFFICIAL PROCLAMATION.

The President at two o'clock issued the following proclamation:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,
"WASHINGTON, January 27, 1893.

"It is my painful duty to announce to the people of the United States the death of James Gillespie Blaine, which occurred in this city to-day at eleven o'clock.

"For a full generation this eminent citizen has occupied a conspicuous and influential position in the nation. His first public service was in the Legislature of his State. Afterward for fourteen years he was a member of the National House of Representatives, and was three times its chosen Speaker. In 1876 he was elected to the Senate. He resigned his seat in that body in 1881 to accept the position of Secretary of State in the Cabinet of President Garfield.

"After the tragic death of his chief he resigned from the Cabinet, and devoting himself to literary work, gave to the public his 'Twenty Years of Congress,' a most valuable and enduring contribution to our political literature.

In March, 1889, he again became Secretary of State, and continued to exercise this office until June, 1892.

His devotion to the public interests, his marked ability and his exalted patriotism have won for him the gratitude and affection of his countrymen and the admiration of the world. In the varied pursuits of legislation, diplomacy and literature his genius has added new lustre to American citizenship.

As a suitable expression of the national appreciation of his great public services and of the general sorrow caused by his death I direct that on the day of his funeral all the departments of the executive branch of the government at Washington be closed and that on all public buildings throughout the United States the national flag shall be displayed at half-staff, and that for a period of thirty days the Department of State be draped in mourning.

By order of the President.

BENJAMIN HARRISON, President.

JOHN W. FOSTER, Secretary of State.

CONGRESS ADJOURNED.

As soon as the reading of the journal was ended in the Senate the announcement of Mr. Blaine's death was made by Mr. Hale, of Maine, who was for many years one of the closest personal and political friends of the dead statesman, and who said that the dread event would carry sadness and mourning throughout all the United States and would awaken interest and sorrow wherever civilized men lived.

His remarks were followed by a motion by Mr. Cockrell, of Missouri, that the Senate adjourn out of

respect to the memory of the deceased, and the motion was declared carried.

The adjournment made the sixth interruption of business in the Senate caused by death within the few preceding weeks.

The death of ex-Speaker Blaine also brought the business of the House to a sudden termination. A few committee reports were made, including a bill to repeal the federal election laws, and then, after brief and affecting speeches by Mr. Milliken, who represents Mr. Blaine's old district, and Holman, who served many years with him in the House and who had always been his personal friend, the House out of respect to the memory of the dead statesman adjourned.

SENATOR HALE'S EULOGY.

In announcing Mr. Blaine's death to the Senate, Mr. Hale delivered the following appreciative eulogy upon the dead statesman:

"MR. PRESIDENT: We are again summoned into the presence of death. A very great man has passed from this earth. Mr. James G. Blaine died in his house in this city at 11 o'clock this morning. His long illness had in some measure prepared us for that, but the dread event will carry sadness and mourning throughout all the United States and will awaken interest and sorrow wherever civilized man lives on the face of the globe.

"Mr. Blaine's career was so remarkable and his public services were so great that in all histories which may be written of his times he will stand as a central

figure, not only as to his own country, but on policies and subjects that affected other great nations. He belonged, Mr. President, not to any one State but to all the country, and Pennsylvania, which gave him birthplace and nurtured him, and Maine, where he made his home and where he became her first citizen and which filled his lap with all the honors which she could bestow, mourn him no more to-day than do the dwellers by the shores of the great gulf and in the cabins of the far Sierras.

"This is no time nor place for me to speak in detail of his distinguished public life. He was for years a distinguished member on the floor of the House of Representatives of the nation, and for six years presided as its Speaker. His services in this chamber covered years. He was twice Secretary of State and was until of late a member of the present Administration. I do not think there is one Senator here who would not deem it fitting, in view of these facts and of the fact that he died where his last peaceful look from his chamber window might embrace this Capitol, where his voice had been so many times heard, that we make a precedent at this time, and that, although Mr. Blaine was at the time of his death a private citizen, this body take immediate adjournment."

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

When the House met the Chaplain referred to Mr. Blaine in his prayer in these words:

"O eternal God, we stand before thee profoundly moved as the news comes to the Capitol and flies

through the land that a great man and a prince among the people has ended his earthly career. Rich in the manifold gifts with which thou hadst endowed him, tireless in energy, devoting himself for a generation to the service of the land, holding men to him by bonds stronger than steel, winning for himself the hearty affection and confidence of millions of his fellow-citizens and such a place as has rarely been held by any man, he passes from us mourned, honored, loved—his memory a fragrance in this House and throughout the Capitol and throughout the nation."

Congressman Milliken, of Maine, said:

MR. SPEAKER: It becomes my sad duty to announce to this House the death of James G. Blaine. Mr. Blaine was for fourteen years a prominent and leading member of this House. For six years he was the distinguished Speaker of the House. Every position he has held he has gilded with the light of genius, and he has given to the public service for a generation such devotion and such industry and such labor as have brought him to his death to-day. I do not doubt that every member of this House will be glad to pay him a tribute of respect by an adjournment.

Mr. Holman, of Indiana, said:

Mr. Speaker, the deaths which have been announced so recently of illustrious citizens may well bring to our minds the prophetic words of the Hebrew King: "How are the mighty fallen!" The death of James G. Blaine will profoundly impress the sensibilities of the country. A great man is dead. He laid the

foundation of his fame in this hall. Here were his great and early triumphs. How often have we heard in this hall the tones of his ringing eloquence! Great in statesmanship, known not only to our country but to the statesmen of the civilized world, and not only great in statesmanship, not only one of the illustrious characters which have illustrated the value of free institutions, but beyond that, he was great in the field of literature. As the historian of the grandest epoch in the history of the world he did his work well. His history, covering a period of years, will go down to posterity as one of the brightest illustrations of the time in which he lived and of the grand events of which he was a part. It would seem, Mr. Speaker, to be eminently proper and fitting that with the announcement of his death here in this the theatre of his great achievements, this House, out of respect to his memory, should adjourn. I therefore move that the House do now adjourn.

THE PRESIDENT WAS SHOCKED.

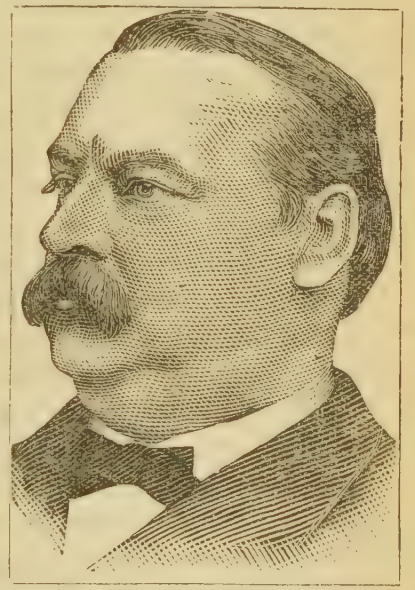
Within an hour of the announcement of Mr. Blaine's death a newspaper correspondent found President Harrison in his private office at the White House with one or two members of his Cabinet. He appeared to be deeply moved. He said:

"I was greatly shocked to learn of Mr. Blaine's death. The impression made upon me was no less profound because of the fact that Mr. Blaine's illness has for some time been believed to be fatal. The physicians and relatives of Mr. Blaine abandoned hope

some time ago, but his death was none the less unexpected and a great shock to me. Before learning the sad news I was preparing to call at the Blaine residence. I at once paid a visit and left a message of sympathy with James G. Blaine, Jr."

CLEVELAND'S WORDS OF PRAISE.

The news of Mr. Blaine's death did not reach Mr. Cleveland until the afternoon. He was in his office in New York at the time.



GROVER CLEVELAND.

Although both occupied so large a place in the public life of this country during the preceding nine years, Mr. Blaine and Mr. Cleveland did not meet often. They had headed opposing tickets in a national election long before they met personally, and Mr. Cleveland had been elected and inaugurated before the opportunity arose for them to become acquainted. Then very properly Mr. Blaine made the first call, when, as Mr. Cleveland said, they had a very pleasant interview.

It was suggested that these reminiscent facts would be of unique and profound interest at this time.

Mr. Cleveland said: "The first time I ever saw Mr. Blaine I had a very pleasant interview with him at the White House, shortly after my inauguration as President. While I have seen but very little of him since that time, yet in a personal way, in common with all other American citizens, I have not failed to admire his traits, the breadth of his information and the alertness of his intellect.

"A figure like his," continued Mr. Cleveland, "which has been so prominently before the people and which they have so long seen in different lights, cannot fail to be long remembered by those of the present generation, and will certainly occupy a large place in the history of the country.

"In common with all his countrymen," concluded Mr. Cleveland, "I share the regret occasioned by the death of a man such as Mr. Blaine, so well entitled to be called an American statesman irrespective of differences in political beliefs or in opinions touching public questions."

HOW DEATH CAME TO HIM.

Though forewarned repeatedly of the precarious character of his health, Mr. Blaine exhibited little depression or despondency during the last two or three years of his life. In his own family circle, too, one affliction came upon another, not fewer than four deaths occurring between 1890 and 1892. Nevertheless, Mr. Blaine kept up an appearance of cheerfulness and interest, and old friends found him genial and companionable and as fertile and brilliant in conversation as

he had always been. As often as his health permitted he went out to dinners and other social gatherings, and he gave constant entertainments at home. His fondness for society never failed, and even when, confined to the house, he had given up the habit of seeing people downstairs in the general reception-rooms, he had many callers come up to the parlor on the second floor of the refitted Seward house, and there chatted with them for long periods with great apparent pleasure.

A journalist who called on Mr. Blaine on the Sunday before he was taken with his last illness, found him in the brightest spirits, and enjoyed a conversation on current topics which must have lasted nearly an hour. Though physically weak and noticeably pallid from his long stay indoors, he showed no trace of listlessness or depression. Seated in an easy-chair near the fireplace in the drawing-room on the second floor, he chatted about politics past and present with all the interest and brilliancy of earlier days. His manner was as cordial and spirited as ever, and though disease had left its marks in the slowness of his gestures and the deliberation of his speech, his conversation showed no perceptible abatement in range or force.

WORDS OF A DYING MAN.

The whole subject of his withdrawal from the Cabinet in June, 1892, was gone over in a frank and unreserved way, Blaine discussing that interesting and important incident with as little show of feeling as if it had happened twenty years ago.

His own retirement from the Cabinet, he said, had not been prompted by personal motives altogether; nor did he, as some false friends had asserted, cherish, either at the time or afterward, any bitterness of feeling toward the President. He had not expected nor desired a nomination from the Minneapolis convention, and had stood ready to congratulate with all cordiality the Republican nominees on their election. Blaine's whole manner showed that he had suffered no shade of disappointment or ill feeling to disturb the personal tranquillity which he had sought to secure for the closing days of his career by his definite retirement from public life.

Too much value can scarcely be attached to these frank expressions on the events and incidents of June, the closing chapter of Mr. Blaine's long political career. The conversation in which they were embodied was one of the last of any length held by him; for a few days later he became seriously ill again and took to his bed, from which he never rose.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Last Honors to the Dead Statesman.

THE funeral of James G. Blaine was a simple one, and the invitations to attend it were based upon the rules governing the invitations to public functions. The President, the Cabinet, the Judges of the Supreme Court, the Diplomatic Corps, the Senators and Representatives in Congress, were invited to the services at the church, and seats were provided for them in order of precedence.

A brief service at the house at Madison place preceded the more formal ceremonies at the Church of the Covenant. To this ceremony not more than one hundred and fifty officials, associates of Mr. Blaine, and friends of the family were invited. Among them were the President, who came accompanied by Mrs. McKee and his private secretary; the Vice-President and Mrs. Morton, with their daughter; Speaker and Mrs. Crisp, the Members of the Cabinet, with their families; Chief Justice Fuller and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Andrew Carnegie, Mrs. John A. Logan, whose husband was on the Republican ticket with Blaine in 1884; Mrs. Garfield, whose husband Mr. Blaine was with when murdered by Guiteau; General Alger, Mr.

and Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt, Mrs. Hitt, Miss Macomb, Miss Loring, Senator and Mrs. Cameron and Miss Cameron, Senator and Mrs. Chandler, General and Mrs. Parke, Mrs. Eugene Hale, Mrs. T. S. Hamlin, Mrs. Alexander Rodgers, Senator and Mrs. Wolcott, Mr. and Mrs. John R. McLean, Mrs. John Hay, Mr. and Mrs. F. C. Newlands, Mr. and Mrs. Gordon Cumming, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Cabot Lodge, Mr. and Mrs. Howland, Mr. and Mrs. Marcellus Bailey, Mrs. Audenreid, Mr. and Mrs. M. H. Dunnell, of Minnesota; ex-Governor and Mrs. Perham, of Maine; Sir Julian and Lady Paunceforte, Mr. A. C. Tyler, Mrs. Francis B. Loring, Senators Gordon and Voorhees, Representative Holman and J. T. Devine, Mr. Blaine's stenographer in the preparation of his "Twenty Years of Congress;" Representative Blount and Mr. Charles Emory Smith, ex-Minister to Russia; Representative and Mrs. Dingley, Representative Milliken, Mrs. Frye, a Maine delegation of fourteen headed by Governor Cleaves, and Mr. S. P. Fessenden, of Connecticut; Senator and Mrs. Manderson, Senators Allison, McPherson, Sherman, Cockrell, Gorman, Aldrich and Morrill; Senator and Miss Dawes, Senator Hoar, Senator and Mrs. Washburn, Senator Ransom and General Baird, Judge and Mrs. Wylie.

A SIMPLE CEREMONY.

Mr. Blaine's body lay in a large drawing-room one flight above the street. The coffin of red cedar, covered with black cloth and with a railing of silver running all around it, rested upon floral pedestals, beneath

which was stretched a thick carpet of roses nine feet long and four feet wide. The room was crowded with wreaths and crosses of flowers, with palms, lilies and huge masses of violets. The upper part of the coffin was covered over with glass. The body was clothed in black broadcloth, and the hands were folded across the breast.

Those who had been invited began to gather at ten o'clock. A long row of carriages extended very soon on either side of the door. A dozen policemen kept the entrance clear. The crowd on the sidewalk facing the house was quiet. It was not a large crowd. At eleven o'clock the President, who was one of the last to arrive, entered the house. He glanced for a moment at the thin, worn face in the coffin, and then took the seat which had been reserved for him. Mrs. Blaine entered immediately after, leaning upon the arm of her son, followed by the other members of the family.

THE PALLBEARERS.

The service which followed was very simple. The Rev. Dr. Hamlin, of the Church of the Covenant, prayed, standing beside the coffin. He asked God to comfort and uphold those whom the dead man had left behind him. The prayer was short. At its conclusion Walter Damrosch, Mr. Blaine's son-in-law, played a few chords upon the piano.

The undertaker's assistants hurriedly gathered up as many as possible of the floral tributes and took them in a wagon to the church, while the coffin was

carried downstairs to the hearse. The pallbearers who accompanied it were Senators Hale and Frye, of Maine; Senator Morgan, of Alabama; Representatives Thomas B. Reed and Boutelle, of Maine; Representative Hitt, of Illinois, formerly Mr. Blaine's Assistant Secretary of State; Representative Bingham, of Pennsylvania, the State in which Mr. Blaine was born; Gen. Thomas Ewing, of Ohio, Mr. Blaine's second cousin; and John Hay, formerly Assistant Secretary of State. The pallbearers were all selected by Mrs. Blaine, and acted at her request.

When the coffin was brought from the house the crowd had increased. There were thousands of men and women gathered about. All the men removed their hats and stood in silence as the funeral procession started for the Church of the Covenant near by.

DECORATIONS OF THE CHURCH.

Meanwhile the officials and friends of the family who, for lack of space, could not be invited to the ceremony at the house, had gathered in the church. They numbered 800, as representative a political gathering probably as was ever brought together in this country. Nearly every branch of the public service and all important departments of official life in Washington were represented.

The two middle rows of seats on either side of the central aisle were roped off with ribbons of white satin. Every attempt was made to prevent an air of gloom surrounding the services. The badges of the ushers were of white satin, the decorations of the altar were

brilliant with coloring—white and red and violet. There was not a particle of black in all the decoration of the church. The seats fenced in with white satin were reserved for the family and for those who had been invited because of their official position.

The altar was a mass of flowers, and when the wagon loads of roses, violets and lilies were brought from the house it was almost impossible to find room for them. Huge wreaths were hung upon the posts of pews and piled upon the floor at the foot of the altar. The floral carpet which Mrs. Emmons Blaine had sent was spread upon the floor before the altar, and upon it were the supports for the coffin.

DISTINGUISHED PEOPLE IN THE CHURCH.

At the hour of twelve all those who had been invited had arrived and the church was filled. The general public was not admitted to any part of the ceremony, and a number of policemen, with ropes stretched around the church, kept the approaches clear. The gathering in the church was impressive and interesting. All the Judges of the Supreme Court sat together in seats just back of those reserved for the family, with the exception of Chief-Justice Fuller, who attended the services at the house and sat with the family. Justices Field and Gray arrived first, and immediately behind them followed Justices Blatchford, Brewer and Brown. They were a fine, simple-looking lot of men, with solemn faces, wearing old-fashioned clothing and tight black gloves, very American and very comforting to look at.

Back of them sat the strange assortment of men who go to make up the Diplomatic Corps in this country. There was Sir Julian Pauncefote, the British Minister, who came in a stunning equipage with English coachman and footman, each more than six feet tall. A very dignified spectacle was Sir Julian, solemnly doing honor to the man whose popularity was largely built up on his disagreements with Great Britain. Across the aisle sat Mr. Mavroyeni Bey, the Turkish Minister. Mr. Tateno, the Japanese Minister, sat next to Mr. Ye, the Corean Charge d'Affaires. Mr. Ye wore a black pointed cap.

OTHER DIPLOMATS PRESENT.

Prince Contacuzene, the Russian Minister, with his secretary; J. Mott Smith, the Hawaiian Minister; Dr. Holbein, the German Minister, with Baron Kettler, also of his legation; Señor Romero, of the Mexican Legation; Count Sponneck, the Danish Minister; G. De Weckherlin, the Minister from the Netherlands; Mr. Claparede, the Swiss Minister; Señor Don Horacio Guzmán, the Nicaraguan Minister; Señor Mendonca, the Brazilian Minister; M. Patenotre, the French Minister; Dr. Bustamente, the Venezuelan Minister; Mr. Sousa Rosa, the Portuguese Minister; Mr. Le Ghait, the Belgian Minister; Mr. Grip, the Swedish Minister; Baron Fava and Marquis Imperiali, of the Italian Legation, and a lot of attachés, gorgeous in raiment and personal attraction, filled several rows of seats.

Whoever has not been in Washington has no idea

of the fine sight which the Diplomatic Corps presented. These distinguished diplomats travel all over the world in the course of their interesting careers, but they never go to a country where a man as great in the eyes of his fellow-citizens as Mr. Blaine was is laid to rest with as little fuss and feathers as they witnessed that day.

The seats of the Senators and Representatives in Congress were back of those occupied by the Diplomatic Corps. They were filled by a crowd of men well known to the country, and a few women. Among them were Gov. Cleaves, of Maine, and a delegation from that State; ex-Senator Davis, of West Virginia; ex-Delegate Cannon, of Utah; Mr. and Mrs. D. T. McKee, Warner Miller, Dr. J. C. Welling, Mr. and Mrs. Roessle, and ex-Senator Eustis, of Louisiana.

Delegations from the Union League Clubs of New York and Philadelphia and from a dozen other organizations throughout the country were also seated within the white satin inclosure, as were also the heads of the bureaus in the State Department.

THE PROCESSION ENTERS THE CHURCH.

The funeral procession from the house reached the church at 12 o'clock. Dr. Teunis S. Hamlin, who but a short time before led the service at the funeral of Walker Blaine, walked slowly up the aisle at the head of the procession, reading as he walked from the burial service, beginning with the verse, "I am the resurrection and the life." Slowly and solemnly he repeated the words which emphasize the fact that am-

bition and hope of preferment all stop at the grave. "We bring nothing into this world," he told his hearers; "we can take nothing from it." This, of course, was not taken in too harshly literal a sense by his hearers, who knew that Mr. Blaine had taken with him the one thing which had made his life worth living—the affection and admiration of millions of his countrymen.

Behind Dr. Hamlin walked the honorary pall-bearers, with the big figure of "Tom" Reed towering above all the others. He walked with his heavy head bowed down. Eight undertakers' assistants came next, carrying the coffin, which was almost buried from sight beneath a mound of flowers.

MRS. BLAINE WAS ABSENT.

Mrs. Blaine did not attend the services at the church. Directly behind the coffin came her daughter, Mrs. Damrosch, leaning upon the arm of her brother, James G. Blaine—no longer James G. Blaine, Jr. Miss Harriet Blaine, Mr. and Mrs. Robert Blaine, and the other members of the family followed. All the women were heavily veiled.

Next came the President, with Mrs. McKee leaning upon his arm. He was very pale, and his head appeared to be sunk more deeply than ever in the collar of his heavy overcoat. He took a seat in the third row behind the honorary pall-bearers.

Fred Brown, Mr. Blaine's colored butler, rode on the box of the carriage in which were Miss Hattie Blaine and young James G. Blaine, and sat with the

family in the church. It is doubtful whether Mr. Blaine had any more sincere mourner outside of his immediate family than this faithful servant who sat listening with appreciation to every word of comfort and wiping his eyes at every allusion to his dead master's good qualities.

Miss Abigail Dodge (Gail Hamilton), Mr. Blaine's cousin, entered the church and sat with the ladies of Mr. Blaine's family, dressed like them in deep mourning.

THE SERVICE.

When the congregation was seated Mr. Damrosch, who had taken the place of the regular organist, played for a short time, and then came the reading by Dr. Hamlin of extracts from the Bible. Prayer followed. The prayer was in the nature of a eulogy on the dead man. It enumerated his great qualities as a patriot, statesman, father, and husband, and condoled with the people of the United States and the President, with the State of Maine and State of Pennsylvania, and with all of the commonwealths, upon the loss which they had sustained. Here in full is the text of the prayer:

DR. HAMLIN'S PRAYER.

"Thanks be unto thee, Almighty God, that we come into the presence of death with such words of triumph as these.

"Thanks be unto thee, O Lord Jesus Christ, that immortal life is no more a dim surmise, a probable speculation, but an assured fact.

"Thanks be unto thee, O Holy Spirit of God, that

thou hast revealed to the hearts and minds of men these truthful verities upon which we rest when human life passeth like a shadow, when our hopes are all frustrated and our plans all put to naught in the presence of the great destroyer.

"Thanks be unto God, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, for Christian triumph in the presence of the open grave.

"We render thee in this sacred and solemn place and presence, O God, our tribute of gratitude for that thou didst make thy servant whose ashes we are now committing to the resting place of all the living. We thank thee for all that mental endowment with which thou didst bless him, for all the fidelity in culture and refinement in the pursuit of all that makes the human mind clear and true and strong and mighty that marked his life.

"We thank thee for his patriotism, his serene and unchanging faith in the institutions of the land he loved. We thank thee for his services to his country in days and years of peril, through critical times steadily holding to his confidence in the great principles that underlie our institutions. We thank thee for his faith in God, his faith in Jesus Christ, his acceptance of Him as his personal Saviour and Redeemer. We thank thee for his broad charity, his kindness and sweetness of heart that impressed all those that love man and serve God. We thank thee for his strong serenity under the great and crushing bereavements that in these last years have fallen upon

him and upon his household. We thank thee for his fortitude during all these weeks of waiting, for his patience and his gentleness. We thank thee, Lord, for all that our departed brother through thy grace was as man and citizen, as patriot, as a servant of his country, as husband and father in the beautiful life of the home.

"And now we entreat thee, O God, that thy comfort may come upon those that are most nearly bereaved, that these members of his own household and those of near kindred may be strong in faith, trusting in God alone; and while there flows to them such a stream of sympathy from all parts of the land and of the world, we pray thee that, receiving it with gratitude, they may rest not in it, but in the priceless sympathy of the Son of God.

"We entreat thee that they may be able to look, not into the open grave, but into the open heavens; not at what they have lost, but at what the dear one gone has left behind. And we entreat thee that the fragrant and precious memories of this dear husband and father, friend and kinsman, may be their solace in these desolate and trying days.

"We ask thy blessing, O Lord, our God, upon the Executive Department of the Government with which thy servant was so intimately associated. We commend to thee the President of the United States, the Vice-President and all the members of the Cabinet with whom our departed brother labored. And we entreat that upon them all in this sense of loss and

this new admonition of their own mortality, there may come a comforting consciousness and serene trust in God and the Lord Jesus Christ.

"We pray Thee, Our Father, for the Congress of the United States, in whose councils for so long thy servant participated, and with such influence for good. We entreat thee that every member of Congress may be impressed anew with the need of trust in God in preparation for this event that cometh alike to all, and that their work henceforth may be done under the consciousness of their responsibility to God under the power of an endless life.

"We ask thy blessing upon all our commonwealths. We commend to thee especially the State in which our brother was born and the State that adopted him and that together rejoice to-day in his illustrious service; and we pray thee that the Executives and legislators of all our commonwealths may be men of God; that they may trust and serve thee.

"We ask thy blessing, O Lord, upon all the people of the land, upon the millions that with singular fidelity have loved him, whose voice so many of them have heard, whose counsels so many of them have followed, but who now rests speechless in death. We entreat thee that his patriotism, his lofty purposes, his sincere and constant love for the institutions of the land may animate all the people and may be a blessed heritage to every citizen of the republic.

"We commend to thee the nations of the earth—all those lands that have felt the touch of his hand in the

great relations of diplomacy, and we pray thee that there may come to them all a more profound trust in God, in the people, in the liberties wherewith God is making people free, and in all those blessed gifts that come from him to the nation that loves and serves the Lord of hosts.

"And we ask thy blessing, O Lord, upon this church. We thank thee that thy servant had part in its very beginning; that he did not despise the day of small things. We thank thee that he loved and aided it in its early days and its progress; that he worshipped here and sat at this communion table. We pray thee that thou will grant to this church, as thou taketh from it one and another, the consolation of thy holy Spirit and thine abiding grace.

"And now, dear Lord, as we go hence and take our place about the open grave and deposit there this sacred and precious dust, wilt thou go with us, and as this family return to their desolate home wilt thou be with them. Wilt thou make good the void that is in their hearts; may this many-times bereaved, this sorely afflicted household have the abundant comfort and strength and grace of Jesus Christ our Lord; and we beseech thee, our Heavenly Father, that throughout all the land and throughout all the world, wherever the eyes and hearts of men are turning at this hour towards this place, wherever any are sending to God the tributes of thanks for the services of this life, wherever there is sorrow to-day, we entreat thee that thy presence may soothe every sorrow, and

that the hope of immortality may be inspired afresh in every heart.

"Forgive our sins; receive us all into the number of thy dear children; help us to so live that we shall be ready at any moment to hear thee say, 'Son, daughter, thy work on earth is finished; come home;' and so to each at last may there open the doors of the seat of God; and may we enter in to be forever blessed."

At the end of this prayer the clergyman and congregation repeated the Lord's Prayer together and the services at the church were ended.

TO THE GRAVE.

The flowers were removed from the altar and taken to the cemetery. The mourners entered their carriages and, following the hearse, began the procession to the grave. About one hundred carriages, including those of the Vice-President and members of the Cabinet, were in line. Spectators were scattered on either side of the way all along the route.

It was a clear day, with only a few clouds for the sun to struggle with now and then. In the prosperous parts of the city men and women gathered at the windows to see the procession go by. In the poorer streets through which the funeral passed on the way to Georgetown, mothers, black and white, brought their children to the doors and offered them the fine parade of carriages full of distinguished people as a pleasing diversion in their quiet lives.

It was a long drive to the cemetery, going as the

funeral procession did at a slow walk. The hearse, which had left the church at twelve forty-five P. M., reached Oak Hill, the burying-ground, shortly after two. The cemetery was crowded with men, women,

OPEN GRAVE WHERE MR. BLAINE WAS BURIED.

and children who had gathered in the morning to look at the open grave. With difficulty the funeral party managed to clear a way through the curious crowd from about the Blaine plot. The immediate relatives,

intimate friends, and members of the Cabinet grouped themselves about the grave. The ground was soft, muddy, and partly covered with snow. The general crowd of sightseers pressed about as closely as possible, and ranged themselves on the slanting terraces of graves that mark the hillside above the Blaine plot. Beside the open grave there was a large mound of fresh, red earth. Seven men, dressed in long blue flannel blouses reaching below the knee and fastened at the waist with big brass buckles, stood with long-handled spades ready to pile in the dirt upon the coffin.

COMMITTED TO THE TOMB.

Mr. Blaine's body was committed to the earth with a short prayer. It was lowered into the grave with the flowers still lying upon the coffin-lid, and immediately the seven grave-diggers with long blouses fell to piling in the earth. For a while the women of Mr. Blaine's household stood sobbing as the work went on. Before it had been finished they had been led away.

One after another the members of the Cabinet withdrew. Mr. Wanamaker remained later than any of his associates, gazing sadly upon the work of the seven men. Finally he too departed, leaving young James G. Blaine alone with the crowd of curiosity seekers beside his father's grave. He waited until the task of filling the grave and sealing the brick vault had been completed. Then he too went away.

For almost an hour the crowd surged about, worrying the policemen and grave-diggers with their

attempts to despoil the grave of its flowers. One policeman should be commended for the manner in which he enforced the law and administered reproof simultaneously. Those he had to combat were women. His unfailing and patient remonstrance was: "Ladies, if you don't know better than to take flowers off the grave I shall have to teach you."

WHERE MR. BLAINE LIES.

Beside the grave of Mr. Blaine are those of Emmons Blaine and Mrs. Alice Blaine Coppinger. A white marble cross marks Mrs. Coppinger's grave. There is room perhaps for two more graves in the plot in which Mr. Blaine lies buried. There is no room for anything more than a very simple headstone to mark his resting-place. On Mr Blaine's right, as he lies in his grave, is a headstone marked simply "Peter Palmer," and on his left the grave of Stephen Glegg Rowan, Vice-Admiral of the United States Navy, who lies buried beside his wife. Not far from where Mr. Blaine lies, in a more thickly settled point of the cemetery, is the grave of John Howard Payne, author of "Home, Sweet Home."

MRS. BLAINE AT THE GRAVE.

At four o'clock in the afternoon the crowds that had filled the cemetery had dispersed. Only a few children ran about the muddy walks and played in the half-melted snow of the graveyard. A woman, deeply veiled, walked down the winding path to the grave and leaned against the trunk of the dead tree. It was Mrs. Blaine.

At her feet were thousands upon thousands of roses, violets and lilies, shutting out from sight the scar which marked her husband's resting place in the earth. All about were low mounds marking other graves, some of children and some of old men. Many were tramped down and disfigured by the thousands who had struggled for a last look at her husband's coffin. Behind her the sun was going down. Before her was a deep ravine, a swollen brook rushing through it, and beyond a gloomy series of red hills. Above the hills she could see the white shaft of the Washington Monument, the dome of the Capitol and the roof of the State Department building, beyond which, but visible, was the White House. Occasionally a few children gathered about with their hands behind their backs to contemplate the lady heavily veiled. They were warned away by an old man in charge of the cemetery gate, who had undertaken the task of protecting the flowers on the grave until the gates should close.

After almost an hour spent by the dead tree at the head of the grave Mrs. Blaine was led away to a carriage by her son. It was getting dark. The sun was hidden from view behind the hill, and the grave, with its burden of flowers, lay in the shadow. Two or three policemen who had lingered about the gate cleared the cemetery of the children and of the few curious ones who remained. The iron gates were closed, and Blaine was left alone to begin his long rest beneath the sod.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Friendly Tributes to the Great Leader.

THE universal regret occasioned by Mr. Blaine's death, and the esteem in which he was held, were voiced in many ways. The various State legislatures that were in session adjourned, showing thereby respect for his memory. Glowing eulogies filled the columns of the press, and prominent men vied with one another in speaking words of praise. Several members of the Cabinet placed on record their high appreciation of the man.

Said Secretary Noble: James G. Blaine died within three days of the sixty-third anniversary of his birth and little less than thirty years from the time he entered Congress, on the first Monday of December, 1863. During this long and most eventful period he held the attention and commanded the respect of his countrymen to a most extraordinary degree—more, I think, than any other political leader save Lincoln or Clay. Like Clay his followers were loving and enthusiastic, and alike they achieved great success but failed to reach the summit of their ambition—the Presidency. Blaine was highly intellectual and refined. He had great mental discipline and vigor, with physical strength and the courage of his convictions. His

learning and experience gave him immense resources of precedent and illustration, and no man was ever more ready to see his opportunity or take advantage of his opponent in debate.

The facility and variety of his attack and defense were unsurpassed. He was distinguished as a Congressman, as a Senator, Cabinet Minister and political leader, displaying great wisdom in counsel, and formulated the principles and issues of his party with unerring accuracy. He had epitomized a great part of his public career in his work, "Twenty Years in Congress," and added to and perpetuated his fame by the literary value of this narrative. I have heard General Sherman, whose judgment in such matters was acknowledged, say that Blaine's book was a great work; that he considered its lucid and incisive expressions and comprehensive and accurate statements gave it rank with Macaulay's history. It is one of the most valuable of books. Blaine was an American thoroughly and invariably—he loved our country and institutions. His death will be greatly lamented, and the whole nation will do his memory honor. His critics will not be in this country.

THE IDOL OF HIS PARTY.

Secretary Elkins said: Mr. Blaine was a wonderful man and wonderfully gifted. He was one of the greatest statesmen and political leaders the country has produced, and the most conspicuous leader of his time. He was the idol of his party, the most loved man in it. He had, more than any other political

leader in this country, the most enthusiastic following and best and most loyal friends. He inspired his party more thoroughly than any other man in it. For nearly twenty years he did more than any other leader to shape its policy. His control over men, his power to draw them to him and command their unselfish support was beyond that of any other party leader in the history of the country.

His loss will be widely felt and mourned, but his life will be a continuing inspiration to his party. Mr. Blaine, though thoroughly educated, full of culture and accomplishments, never paraded his learning. He was versatile, full of resources and more widely informed than any man or statesman of his time. In a certain sense, he was modest, seldom speaking of himself, his position or commanding influence in his party and in the country. He was broad, liberal and just, always generous to an opponent; tender, gentle and affectionate toward his friends. He sought the Presidency in '76, after that seemingly abandoning all hope of ever reaching that high place. In '84 he did not seek the nomination, and in '88 steadfastly refused to allow his name to go before the convention.

Of late years he was not only the central figure in American politics, but at all social gatherings and wherever he went. In and out of office he attracted more attention and excited more enthusiasm than any other citizen of the republic. Wherever he went people always eagerly turned to look at him, or stopped to see him as he passed by. His claim to greatness

will rest upon his literary work and his statesmanship. Either would place him in the front rank of the greatest men of the republic. His "Twenty Years in Congress" will stand as an enduring monument, and always mark him truly great. The strain put upon him and the effort in writing his great work, I think, had much to do in breaking down his health. The production of such a work in so short a time; so just and discriminating; so fair to contemporaries and to all: so thoroughly authentic and reliable, stands in the history of literature unparalleled.

Without distinction of party, his death will be mourned as a great loss to the country. Truly, a great man has passed away, and a great light gone out.

LOVE FOR PENNSYLVANIANS.

Postmaster-General Wanamaker said: Eleven years ago I made the acquaintance of Mr. Blaine, when at his invitation I went to his house with his intimate personal friend for consultation about accepting public office. The friendship then begun ripened in the 1884 campaign, and since 1887 has been more or less intimate. His kindness and enthusiasm, that so greatly attracted every one, were often manifested in a special degree to Pennsylvanians, among whom he was born. He liked to talk of people in Philadelphia who lived at the time he was teacher and editor there. I shall not soon forget the last hours spent with him when he talked freely about his feelings and his plans, about a week before he went upstairs for

the last time. Pennsylvania may well be proud of her brilliant son, clever as Henry Clay and eloquent as Daniel Webster. As an all-around statesman his name will always be cherished with the ten greatest Americans.

HIS STURDY AMERICANISM.

Secretary Rusk said: I first met Mr. Blaine in 1868, I being then Bank Comptroller in Wisconsin, to which State he came to make tariff speeches. He was then one of the most forcible speakers in the Republican party on this important question. The acquaintance then formed with him has continued uninterruptedly since, being welded by our closer personal and political relations during the Forty-second, Forty-third and Forty-fourth Congresses, in which we were both members of the House of Representatives, he being Speaker during the first two Congresses, a position for which I warmly supported him. I have no hesitation in saying that in many respects Mr. Blaine outranked any of his contemporaries, and none has wielded a greater influence in shaping the fortunes of the Republican party.

One of the qualities I have always esteemed the most highly in James G. Blaine was his sturdy, unswerving Americanism. He will always be one of the conspicuous figures in the political history of this country. While serving with him in President Harrison's Cabinet our relations were of the most cordial and friendly character. For some time I noted with deep regret that physically he was not as vigorous as

in former years. His death, while not unexpected, will be a great shock to the people of the whole nation, irrespective of their political sentiments.

HIS EXALTED PATRIOTISM.

Secretary of State Foster said: Other of his friends are more competent to speak of Mr. Blaine's services and genius in Congress, in politics and in literature. In diplomacy his chief characteristic was his exalted Americanism. He was a thorough believer in the Monroe Doctrine, and the reciprocity policy which distinguished the close of his public career was an outgrowth of his convictions respecting that doctrine. His diplomatic correspondence will rank among the best of his political productions. His reputation abroad will mainly rest upon his acts as Secretary of State, and it is not an exaggeration to say that in the past ten years at least, he has been the best known American in foreign lands.

Secretary of the Treasury Foster said: I first met Mr. Blaine when he became a member of the Forty-second Congress, and during his six years service as Speaker of the House of Representatives. At that time he was in full health and a magnificent specimen, both physically and mentally, of mature manhood. As Speaker, he was the absolute dictator of the proceedings of the House, enjoying more fully the respect and confidence of the members than, perhaps, any other Speaker, with perhaps the exception of Henry Clay, whose career Mr. Blaine's so much resembled. His career has been one of leadership, and

without doubt he possessed the confidence, respect and affection of the vast majority of the American people more than any man of his time. His fame is world-wide. His personal popularity and his hold upon the popular affection was not confined to his own party. His death will be sincerely mourned.

COMPARED WITH WEBSTER AND CLAY.

Attorney-General Miller said: It is customary to speak of one, who, being elected to the Vice-Presidency, becomes President, as an accidental President. With reference to Mr. Blaine, it may be truly said that his failure to be President was an accident. The desire of an old gentleman to make a striking sentence by alliteration defeated the worthy ambition of a lifetime, and in no small degree changed the direction of public affairs in the nation. In the whole history of the country there has scarcely been a more striking figure than Mr. Blaine, and no personality in the country has been more strongly impressed upon his contemporaries.

At the funeral of Daniel Webster one of his neighbors, who lived near Marshfield, looking on the face of the dead statesman, said: "Daniel Webster, the world will be lonesome without you." The same may be said with propriety of James G. Blaine. Mr. Blaine, with the possible exception of Henry Clay, was the most brilliant statesman and political leader this country has ever produced. An excellent judge of character, he understood instinctively the strong and weak points of those with whom he came in contact,

Full of human sympathy, he received all who approached him with a kindness and affability that made them at once his friends. He was a most accurate judge of public sentiment and he knew, as few men did, how to present a question of public policy so as to appeal to the sympathy and win the support of the people. He was a born leader of men and richly endowed by nature with all those qualities that make a great statesman.

In the United States a thorough legal training is almost indispensable to a great and diversified public career. That without such training Mr. Blaine could achieve success in the various positions he has been called upon to fill is an additional evidence of his extraordinary natural powers.

ESTIMATE OF A SOUTHERNER.

Speaker Crisp said: The people of the South have always entertained the kindliest feeling for Mr. Blaine. His part in the defeat of the first Force bill will never be forgotten. It was within his power as Speaker at the time that bill was under consideration to have brought about its passage, but he resisted the strongest kind of party pressure and absolutely refused to entertain the idea of a cloture rule. If such a rule had been made it is probable that the bill would have been passed. He rose above the partisan to the height of a patriot. Mr. Blaine was a great man—one of the greatest this country has ever produced.

Hamilton Fish was Secretary of State when Mr. Blaine was the Speaker of the House of Representa-

tives. His first expression on hearing of the great statesman's death was: "A great man has gone." Continuing, he said: "His death will be universally regretted, and the unkind things that have been said about him will be, I think, not repeated. He was an affectionate man in his own family, and during the eight years he lived near me I had an opportunity to see what an interest he took in his family, and what love and admiration he had for his children. But his death will not only be mourned by his widow and children. For months the whole country has been watching at his bedside and the whole country will mourn its loss. I cannot say too much of Mr. Blaine's ability. Had he not been so great and brilliant he might have been President. He was a great man when he first entered upon a political career. He became greater as years rolled by. He has been accused of sensational things, but when Secretary of State under Harrison he did nothing of a rash or sensational sort. Blaine was a man with a most remarkable memory and in debate he could quote figures for hours without referring to notes. He was certainly the greatest American of his time, and during the latter years of his life the people had every confidence in him, and they felt assured that if he ever had reached the Presidential chair his administration would have been conservative and prosperous. The nation has lost its greatest citizen; his unique place in history will never be filled.

A REMARKABLE MAN.

William M. Evarts, ex-Secretary of State and ex-Senator, was always a great admirer of Mr. Blaine's abilities as a great statesman.

Mr. Evarts said: It is the close of a very eventful political career. Mr. Blaine was one of the most brilliant public men in the history of the country. Besides his brilliant public career, he attracted about him more personal admiration and applause than any man of his time. His hold in a place of history and in the affections of the people of the United States will live long after his death. My acquaintance with Mr. Blaine was intimate and agreeable for many years, and I followed with interest the career of the most conspicuous personality in recent public life. Mr. Blaine was an able presiding officer in the House, and in the Senate he ably demonstrated his capacity and ability readily to grasp the great questions of the day. At one time there was no orator in America who was more than his equal, and in debate he was an antagonist worthy to meet. His memory was something marvellous, and facts and figures, when necessary, were always at his tongue's end. He had one great ambition. He had the right to it. There are others who aspired to the Presidency, and were as capable as Mr. Blaine of administering the affairs of the highest office in the land, but, like Henry Clay, it was destined that he should never reach the White House. But his fame could not have been greater had he reached the height of his ambition. His place in his-

tory will always remain. More ample testimony as to his brilliant and varied career, accomplishments and services may well await a later day.

BLAINE'S OWN STATE DOES HIM HONOR.

The following proclamation was issued from the Executive Department on the death of James G. Blaine.

STATE OF MAINE EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
AUGUSTA, Jan. 27, 1893.

TO THE PEOPLE OF MAINE:—

The Governor announces with feelings of profound sorrow that the Hon. James G. Blaine died in the city of Washington this forenoon at the hour of 11 o'clock.

His long, faithful and distinguished service to his State and to the country is fully recognized and appreciated. His noble life was filled with usefulness. He was highly honored while living, and his death is sincerely and deeply mourned by every household in the land. In recognition of his most eminent career, and as a manifestation of the high respect entertained for his memory, the Governor directs that the national flag be at once displayed at half-mast upon the public buildings of the State, and during the funeral services all the departments of the Executive branch of the State government be closed.

HENRY B. CLEAVES, Governor.

The Legislature appointed a committee to attend the funeral of Mr. Blaine, also one to draw up appropriate resolutions, and then adjourned until Monday. Memorial services were held by the Legislature on

the day of the funeral. Governor Cleaves and General Selden Connor, chief of staff, represented the State at the funeral services.

GENERAL REGRET IN CHICAGO.

Although it had been known for weeks that Mr. Blaine was hopelessly ill, the news of his death came with something like a shock to the majority of the people of Chicago. Everywhere there were heard expressions of sorrow and regret that so able a man had been taken from the service of his country. Political differences were obliterated and Democrats and Republicans alike uttered tributes of respect for the dead statesman. The general expressions reminded one of the scene in the last Democratic National Convention, when resolutions of sympathy with Mr. Blaine on the death of his son, Emmons, were passed by a rising vote. Mr. Blaine's death was the topic of conversation at the clubs, hotels, public offices, Board of Trade, Stock Exchange, and all places where men congregate. Mayor Washburne ordered the flag on the City Hall to be lowered to half-mast, and Marshal Hitchcock caused the Stars and Stripes over the Federal Building also to be placed at half-mast.

The Hon. Mackenzie Bowell, Minister of Trade and Commerce, who frequently met Mr. Blaine during the reciprocity negotiations at Washington, said that he did not share in the belief prevalent that Mr. Blaine was unfriendly toward Canada. From experience he had learned to regard Mr. Blaine as an advanced and

liberal-minded statesman, ever disposed to do justice to every country.

KIND WORDS FROM ADLAI E. STEVENSON.

"I shall ever retain most kindly memories of this great statesman, and his family have my profound sympathy in this their hour of deepest sorrow." These were the words with which Vice-President-elect Stevenson closed a brief interview on the death of Mr. Blaine. "Mr. Blaine was a great debater—a man of wonderful eloquence. Life, color, passion and personality were all thrown into his address. He combined with his eloquence such a thorough knowledge of his subject and such a complete mastery of detail that his argument seemed irresistible.

"He possessed to a large degree that magnetism which appeals to friend and foe—that something which made men follow his leadership wherever he led them. As a popular idol, as a great leader of his party, no statesman in modern times had a more devoted following, possibly none had engendered more bitter opposition among sections of his own followers than Mr. Blaine. Mr. Blaine had many warm personal friends among Democrats."

TRIBUTE FROM CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW.

Mr. Depew gave the following highly appreciative estimate of the dead statesman:

Blaine was easily the most interesting and conspicuous figure in the United States. He held this position and had this unique distinction for a longer period than any other American statesman. He alone

of our public men aroused the curiosity and fixed the attention of Europe upon his opinions and purposes. He was a factor of equal and commanding importance in our affairs, whether in or out of office. He had a following for a quarter of a century whose ardor and enthusiasm neither time nor defeat could cool or quench. It is rare that a party leader combines the intelligence which secures the assent of his party and the personal qualities which win the affections of his partisans. The Scotch-Irish blood of Mr. Blaine happily blended the clear, cold and keen intellect of the one race and the susceptibility and impressionability of the other.

The secret of his success is not difficult to find. He was always in close touch with the people. This ready sympathy with popular aspirations and quick determination to meet them aroused the distrust of the critic and the terror of the conservative. For that reason he always had the opposition of Mug-wumps. The rapidity with which he arrived at conclusions and the certainty and suddenness with which he acted upon them created among these classes distrust and suspicion. They charged him with ulterior motives and secret machinations.

But the real source of his power was his frankness and transparent candor. The plain people of the country did not misunderstand him. He was peculiarly the representative of American ideas. His advanced position and aggressive attitude in our foreign relations excited the liveliest apprehensions in Europe

and hostility at home. His action on those questions was the natural result of the intense pride and ambition in the progress and power of the United States which were the moving influences of his life.

The American people, as a rule, look with great doubt upon spectacular exhibitions by public men. If, however, the dramatic surprise has in it the elements of victory, then they are captured by the episode, as they were by the fall of Vicksburg on the Fourth of July, or Sherman's march to the sea.

Mr. Blaine's defiant attitude and daring counter-assault upon his enemies in the midst of the canvassing for a Presidential nomination, when he rushed down the aisle of the House of Representatives and himself read and presented the letters which it was charged would incriminate him, was one of the most brilliant, daring and triumphant movements in parliamentary history. It sent a thrill of pride through the households of his friends, and of admiration through those of his enemies, all over the land.

His sudden and angry attack upon the McKinley bill before the committee which had it in charge, when he smashed his hat upon the copy of the bill and declared that there was nothing in it for the farmer, led to the examination and revision which enabled that bill to become a law.

HIS WONDERFUL MEMORY.

Senator Sawyer, of Wisconsin, tells the following as to Mr. Blaine's wonderful memory for names and faces: "In 1874," he said, "Mr. Blaine made a speech

in Wisconsin and he stopped with me. While he was there I gave a dinner in Mr. Blaine's honor, to which I invited Mr. Meyer, of Fond-du-Lac. In 1891, more than sixteen years afterward, Mr. Meyer came here and I took him to call on Mr. Blaine. Before we got there we met Mr. Blaine, and when within about forty feet of him he walked quickly forward and without any hesitation said: 'Mr. C. L. J. Meyer, how do you do?'"

A gentleman of the party with Senator Sawyer, said: "I was with Mr. Blaine when he visited Lancaster, O., during a campaign. Mr. Blaine had lived there, and he got a great reception. He remembered all the old residents. Finally some one brought in a man whom they said he would not remember.

"Mr. Blaine replied: 'Yes, I do, give me a little time.' Pretty soon he remarked to the man, 'I never saw you but once,' and then he told this story:

"'When I was a boy there was great excitement one day because a convict had escaped from the Columbus Penitentiary, and had been tracked into that neighborhood. Police arrested him, and I (Mr. Blaine) was one of the crowd around. The man was taken to a blacksmith shop and had fetters riveted on him by the blacksmith. You (turning to the man) and I walked home to Lancaster together after that.'"

THE SORROW OF DIPLOMATS.

The death of Mr. Blaine occasioned great regret among the members of the diplomatic corps at the Capital, with nearly all of whom his relations were quite intimate. Baron Fava, the Italian Minister, dean

of the corps, said: "Personally, the death of Mr. Blaine is a great affliction. He was in office as Secretary of State when I reached Washington, nearly thirteen years ago, and went with me to the President when I presented my credentials. Since then our relations have been very pleasant. The loss to the country of one of its greatest men I can appreciate, and I desire to express the sorrow, not only of myself, but of all my associates in the Diplomatic College, at the sad event which has so afflicted your country."

Mr. Le Ghait, the Belgian Minister, who was with Baron Fava when the reporter saw him, gave his concurrence to the expressions of sorrow, and said that the members of the diplomatic corps would desire to manifest in the most pronounced manner their appreciation of the worth of the dead statesman, and would take part as a body in his funeral if it were a public ceremonial, as they understood it would be.

MESSAGES OF SYMPATHY.

It is impossible to estimate even approximately the number of callers who left cards at the Blaine mansion on the day of his death. Mr. Blaine was known the world over and from every part of the globe messages of sympathy and sorrow are coming. Here are a few telegrams given out this evening:

President-elect Grover Cleveland.—His brilliant statesmanship will always be an inspiration to the nation he has served so long and so well. Permit me to extend my sympathy on the death of your distinguished husband.

Gov. Roswell P. Flower, of New York.—My great respect and admiration for your late husband prompts me to send this word of sympathy in your bereavement. The country will mourn his loss as that of a brilliant statesman and true friend.

Gov. Pattison, of Pennsylvania.—The sad message of the death of Mr. Blaine has just reached me. You have my heartfelt sympathy. . The people of his native State were greatly devoted to him while living and mourn with you his death.

Gov. Crounse, of Nebraska.—The people of Nebraska weep with you over the death of your distinguished husband. The solace for our sorrow comes from the brilliant inheritance he has bequeathed the nation.

Gov. Cleaves, of Maine.—Permit me to express to you the great sorrow felt by the people of Maine at the death of Mr. Blaine. You are assured of their deepest sympathy and that the entire States mourns with you.

Robert T. Lincoln, Minister to Great Britain.—We lose a dear friend and deeply sympathize with you and your children in your great affliction.

Chief-Justice Melville W. Fuller.—Accept my sincere sympathy.

Gov. McKinley, of Ohio.—Please receive our sincere sympathy on the death of your noble husband. The people of Ohio share in your great sorrow and lament the death of an illustrious statesman.

Gen. R. A. Alger.—The nation has lost its foremost

and best beloved citizen, but the name of your husband and the love of all classes, parties and creeds for him shall never die.

James S. Clarkson.—We send you loving sympathy from the sorrowing hearts of a household in which love of Mr. Blaine has long been a sweet and sacred thing.

J. B. Foraker.—Mrs. Foraker joins me in tendering sympathy. The death of Mr. Blaine is a national loss that will be recognized and deplored by all Americans regardless of political differences.

Andrew Carnegie.—The sad news is everywhere. The whole city seems stricken with grief. We shall, of course, return to pay our last tribute.

Gov. Boies, of Iowa.—The whole nation mourns the death of your gifted husband. Nowhere within its borders is sorrow for him or sympathy for you more sincere than among his multitude of friends in Iowa.

COMMENTS BY NEWSPAPERS.

From the Inter-Ocean, Chicago.

The death of James G. Blaine, though on account of his long illness fully anticipated, will cause a spasm of grief throughout the country. Anticipation of death is not always the realization of that great change. It is human never to be ready for the death of loved ones, and it is only when the eternal harvester cuts the cord and removes every shred that can sustain hope that we realize that they are gone from us forever. And certainly Mr. Blaine was a man loved and

cherished by the American people. He was one of them, and they clung to him through good and evil report with a tenacity that defied all efforts, both of friends and foes. Other characters may have cast grander shadows over the nation and impressed the people with a sense of greater obligation for services rendered, but no other excited their imaginations and stirred their feelings to such an extent as did James G. Blaine.

It must be said of Mr. Blaine as of all other great political leaders, that he was not always wise nor was he always just, but whom the people much love they forgive much, and if they ever charged up any of these errors of judgment or temper against Mr. Blaine, they wrote them in the sand and the lines disappeared with the waves of returning enthusiasm which invariably came when he again spoke to them. Mr. Blaine was a man of comprehensive information with a wonderful faculty for placing that information interestingly and clearly before others. He was bold yet diplomatic both in action and speech. His state papers will take rank with those of our greatest secretaries. There was a directness and American ring about them that found an echo in every American heart.

It is, however, as the political leader that Mr. Blaine will live in history and in the memory of his countrymen. As such he is not comparable with any of his contemporaries, nor is it probable that his like will again be seen in American politics for a long time.

From the Courier-Journal, Louisville.

Among the modern leaders of American party politics James G. Blaine stood easily first. In the power of drawing to himself the admiration of great masses of the people, and of arousing the enthusiasm of his followers, he had no equal in either political camp.

A certain lack of prestige which marked his brief service in the Senate may be traced directly to the circumstance that he was not a trained lawyer. No man has ever made a career in the Senate—that graveyard of Presidential hopes and coffin of slain ambitions—who was not. But as a commoner upon the floor of the national House of Representatives, Mr. Blaine was a Titan. He was a Titan before the people. He was a Titan among his political associates in the closet and at the round table where party plans are laid and party plans decided.

Mr. Blaine's lot was cast in high party lines. In political controversy he neither asked nor gave quarter. But in his private intercourse he was altogether free from political prejudices, unreserved and generous to his adversaries, genial to all, and altogether delightful as a companion. He was not so august as Clay nor so unguarded as Douglas, but he will rank with those for a party leader and be classed with them and compared to them by the biographers, for as political chieftains and popular debaters the trio possessed much in common.

Peace to the ashes of a noble adversary! All

honor to the name of a great American! At last the Plumed Knight has joined the knightly throng whom the ages have assembled on the other side.

From the American, Baltimore.

Mr. Blaine was the foremost figure of his time in American public life, and this was due to the extraordinary qualities of the man. His name came to be reckoned among the half-dozen names which constitute the crowning galaxy of American statesmanship. No man in American politics filled a broader space for a longer period than Mr. Blaine, and the country loses him while in the maturity of his splendid powers.

From the Constitution, Atlanta.

Mr. Blaine's death removes one of the most brilliant and picturesque figures in modern politics. Comparing him with Henry Clay as a partisan, Blaine had a better hold on the public mind, though Clay was a greater man as a statesman, while not cutting such a figure in politics. The people, regardless of party, instinctively knew that at his best Mr. Blaine was a representative American, a man ardently in love with his whole country and its institutions.

DATE DUE

WITHDRAWN
from
Funderburg Library

MANCHESTER COLLEGE LIBRARY
3 9315 01013797 1

923.273
B574n c.4
Northrop
Life and public services of
Hon. James G. Blaine